



1990
FESTIVAL OF
AMERICAN FOLKLIFE

Smithsonian Institution/National Park Service

On the front cover: *Felicia Caines weaves hoopvine to make a St. John market basket under a tamarind tree in St. John, U.S. Virgin Islands. (Photo by Betz Robb)*

On the back cover: *In a Senegalese market, this woman displays waist beads (jaljali) and a variety of hairstyles braided into wigs. These elements of traditional feminine personal adornment have contributed to the Senegalese reputation for elegance. (Photo by Andrea Snyder)*

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June 27-July 1 / July 4-July 8

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Editor: Peter Seitel

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Designer: Carol B. Hardy

Assistant Designers: Jennifer Nicholson, András Goldinger

Typesetter: Harlowe Typography

Printer: Peake Printers Inc.

Typeface: ITC Garamond

Paper: Patina Matte

Insert: Sundance

Note from the Editor:

The Festival helps make some of the many ways of knowing truth and embodying beauty a part of our national cultural dialogue. This year, we have tried to project that many sided dialogue into the Program Book.

The sections of articles about the U.S. Virgin Islands and Senegal have statements from two sets of authors. One article in each section is a general, inclusive statement written by a member of our curatorial staff. Employing a point of view generally defined by Smithsonian imperatives for "the increase and diffusion of knowledge," the author engages in the characteristic practices of the Festival. These include: identifying and valorizing traditional cultural practices; explaining them primarily in historical, economic and social terms; replying to popular stereotypes and supplanting them with empirically derived characterizations; representing geographically and historically bounded cultural wholes.

The other statements are written by authors from the geographic areas featured — the U.S. Virgin Islands and Senegal. These articles are more richly detailed. They address a variety of audiences, reply to a variety of implicit and explicit assertions, and are couched in a variety of styles. They have, of course, been solicited, selected and edited — processes which are ineluctably based in our Institutional practice. We hope that in spite of this practice, and also in some degree because of it, these short critical pieces do incorporate a variety of voices speaking on noteworthy aspects of folklife.

In this sense, the organization of this year's Program Book represents the practice of the Festival as a whole. The dialogue of viewpoints, of understandings and of cultural styles strengthens the discourse of our national cultural Institution.

CULTURAL PLURALISM: A SMITHSONIAN COMMITMENT

Robert McC. Adams

Secretary, Smithsonian Institution

In the United States today there is increasing awareness and debate about questions of culture. The terms "multicultural" and cultural "diversity," "equity," "conservation," "survival" and "pluralism" are becoming part of public discourse as national and local institutions evaluate their missions, audiences and constituencies. The Smithsonian Institution has made cultural pluralism a high priority for the decade ahead in its research, exhibits, programs, staff and audience. This is a complex goal and this year's Festival, as those in the past, helps us to pursue its many facets.

In its original charter, the Smithsonian is dedicated to the broad dissemination of knowledge. More than 25 million people visited the Smithsonian museums last year. Millions more read books published by Smithsonian Institution Press, watched "Smithsonian World" on television, listened to Smithsonian Folkways Records, attended Resident or National Associate programs, visited SITES exhibits in local museums or read *Smithsonian* magazine. One aspect of cultural pluralism is the democratization of access to knowledge: the Institution's audience should not be limited by cultural, economic, and geographic boundaries. We must be *everyone's* Institution.

But pursuing cultural pluralism involves more than indicating a willingness to admit everyone or encouraging wider audience development. Our exhibits need to reflect adequately the many American stories, songs, works of art, technological developments and bodies of wisdom created by the populace of the nation, and those of the world as well. People need to see themselves, their communities and their histories in our museums often enough to have confidence that their voice is being heard and understood in a national, even international forum.

The pursuit of cultural pluralism reaches beyond exhibitions and programs to the ways in which they are conceived. In the humanities, social and even natural sciences, new or alternative perspectives brought by scholars from traditionally under-represented nations and cultures make major contributions to our collective knowledge. Focusing new perspectives on

old areas enhances the process of creating new understandings, new paradigms, new visions. This is especially true when research is translated into exhibitions and programs. Scholars and others versed in the culture of those represented must have a voice in how that representation is accomplished. Including voices of the "studied" does not diminish the responsibility of curators and researchers to use their knowledge. Rather it challenges them to engage in a dialogue or even multilogue, so that different types of knowledge and understanding may emerge. Broadening our staff to include researchers and lay scholars of diverse backgrounds is not only ethically correct — it is also good for scholarship.

The Festival of American Folklife, the annual extension of the Smithsonian onto the National Mall of the United States, is a long lived national and international model for the research and presentation of living culture. It is an example of cultural pluralism in research, exhibition development and public education. This year, programs on the folklife of the U.S. Virgin Islands, the cultures of Senegal, and the Musics of Struggle present people who have much to say about the cultures they represent, but whose voices may not be frequently heard in national or international cultural forums. Field research to develop these programs was conducted largely by academic and lay scholars from the U.S. Virgin Islands, Senegal, and the featured communities, and usually in close collaboration with local cultural institutions. Program interpretation is multivocal, as tradition bearers, local scholars and Smithsonian curators speak for themselves, with each other, and to the public. Together they create a rich, pluralistic and knowledgeable perspective.

The U.S. Virgin Islands is a U.S. territory and a multicultural American society in the Caribbean Sea. Its culture reflects the continuity of African and European traditions, their creolization, or amalgamation, into new forms in the crucible of intense political and economic interaction, and the influence of more recent immigrants from Puerto Rico and the eastern Caribbean. Yet within this cultural diversity, Virgin Islanders recognize a unity born of intimate island

community life. People in the U.S. Virgin Islands understand one another and the complex ways in which their roots are entwined. Rich traditions deriving from home life, the market, plantation slavery and resistance to it, fishing, local and international trade inspire pride in Virgin Islanders. These island-born traditions are of increasing importance in a world penetrated by an impersonal mass culture not of their own making. But Virgin Islanders have also projected their skill and knowledge beyond their shores. Because of their relatively early struggles for freedom (emancipation from slavery was won in 1848) and their skill in successfully managing a multicultural environment, U.S. Virgin Islanders have played major roles on the mainland. Individual Virgin Islanders contributed to the Harlem Renaissance, the formation of the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters and to realignments in New York City urban politics — cultural, social and political movements which mark important developments in modern American history.

From Senegal to the Festival come exemplars of traditions that reveal historical development within ancient West African empires and the civilizations they nurtured. Senegal too is a multi-ethnic democratic society; it is joined together by national institutions and traditional values deriving from Islamic, sub-Saharan African, and European sources. Traditions of praise singing, storytelling, healing, weaving, hair braiding, and metal smithing enact and promulgate ethics of social responsibility, personal integrity, and the dignity of self within a spiritual framework. The embodiments of these values are important for contemporary Senegalese; they also can be keys to a complex history that connect Americans to their roots in West Africa. Many Africans brought to the Americas in the slave trade came from Senegal and nearby coastal regions of West Africa. The cultural continuity of the African diaspora in the Americas is still evident in traditions such as spirit stilt dancing and hair braiding practiced in both Senegal and the U.S. Virgin Islands. *Brunansis* stories, West African moral tales about humans and animals, are still told in the Virgin Islands and in the American South. In the Georgia Sea Islands and in coastal South

Carolina they are told in Gullah, a language with West African roots that provides the grammatical basis for Black English. And there is a Senegalese tale about the Manding King Aboubacar II who set off westward across the Atlantic with two thousand canoes several hundred years *before* Columbus. Whether or not his fleet arrived is unknown. But that spirit of exploration, which also placed Senegalese in a network of trade routes through the Sahara to the Mediterranean, today motivates a generation of Senegalese-American immigrants to enter U.S. universities, participate in the professional work force and contribute to commercial and street markets in New York, Washington, D.C., and Atlanta.

In the Musics of Struggle program, we learn how different communities, in the United States and abroad, use traditional music, song, chant and movement to make their voices heard. In recent years we have seen profound changes in the social order resulting from mobilizations of popular support. Traditional music has taken on a dramatic, culturally dynamic role in some of these mobilizations. Old songs and tunes newly recontextualized or revalorized provide a link between the continuity of the past and the challenge of the present. Sometimes we forget how powerful the music can be which articulates a sense of moral purpose and moves a community, a people or a nation to transform itself. This program demonstrates that power to transform, from the songs of the Freedom Singers to the chants, in sign language, of students in Gallaudet's "Deaf President Now" Movement.

While the Festival gives us a means to comprehend cultural pluralism and distinctiveness, it also presents historical contiguities and functional similarities in culture. We can see the role that music plays in many communities, nations and cultures. We can understand the relationship of tradition to understanding history and informing social action. We can find connections and resemblances across oceans and centuries. But most of all, at the Festival we experience cultural expression, encounter creativity, and meet the people who can help us explore them.

NATIONAL PARKS: A HOME FOR CULTURAL EXPRESSION

James M. Ridenour
Director, National Park Service

Most people think of museums as storehouses of objects and the Smithsonian, especially, as the steward of our nation's material treasures — the Hope diamond, the Wright brothers' airplane, the original Star Spangled Banner. In a like manner, most think of the National Park Service as the steward of our nation's natural and cultural treasures — Yellowstone National Park, Grand Canyon National Park, the Statue of Liberty, the Lincoln Memorial. But the Smithsonian Institution and the National Park Service are this and more. Their missions are not only to preserve physical objects and environments but also the values embodied in the natural, cultural and historical heritage that gives meaning to our life as a nation and as a people.

In the Festival of American Folklife we form a partnership in which we present living cultural treasures — exemplary musicians, craftspeople, storytellers, cooks, and other cultural specialists — to the nation. Through living exhibitions of their skills, knowledge and artistry we expect that a broad public will learn about the different traditions, cultures and people that comprise our nation and the world. We expect that the Festival will bring people closer together, helping us understand one another. We also expect that the Festival will have an effect "back home" — encouraging feelings of community self-worth and pride.

The National Park Service also works "back home" in all parts of the country. We collaborate with many local and regional agencies throughout the United States to present programs that testify to the richness, vitality and diversity of America's many people and traditions. I can cite as but a few examples, the National Folk Festival held for the past three years at Lowell National Historical Park and this year at America's Industrial Heritage

Park in Johnstown, Pennsylvania, and the many presentations of traditional culture at Jean Lafitte National Historical Park in Louisiana, Golden Gate National Recreation Area in California, Hawai'i Volcanoes National Park, Chamizal National Memorial Park, Texas, Blue Ridge National Parkway in Virginia and North Carolina, and Cuyahoga National Recreation Area in Ohio.

We are particularly happy to have joined in producing the programs at this year's Festival. We share an interest in the land and peoples of the U.S. Virgin Islands. Virgin Islands National Park on St. John is a beautiful, ecologically and historically important park. Research conducted there has taught us much about Caribbean ecology and marine biology. A number of historical sites and sugar mills have been restored so as to make the history of the Virgin Islands accessible to both residents and visitors. And some of our National Park Service scholars have made contributions to the cultural and historical research that supports this Festival program.

We also see the significance of National Parks, particularly monuments, reflected in the Musics of Struggle program. Often, in American public life, our monuments and the significance they embody become focal points for the mobilization of public expression. The U.S. Capitol building became a center for Gallaudet students to announce and advance their pressing need for a deaf president. The Lincoln Memorial has been a focal point for the Civil Rights Movement. Unlike many nations, we take pride in this form of public discourse. It is a celebration of our political freedom. And while we may not always agree with one another, we do agree that our freedom of expression, through access to these monuments and nationally symbolic public places, must be preserved — and treasured.

FOLKLIFE IN CONTEMPORARY MULTICULTURAL SOCIETY

Richard Kurin

New demographic, political, economic and ecological realities have recently joined on a global scale to bring cultural issues to the fore. Talk about "culture" — usually consigned to the back sections of newspapers, to academic circles and to abstract critical discussions — has recently emerged as a major subject of current events requiring serious and broad consideration.

In the United States the 1990 Census will reveal the continuation of a trend toward an ethnically diverse population. Sometime in the middle of the next century most Americans will be identified as of African American, Asian American, Hispanic or other "minority" background. The "majority," already a broad and varied category of European Americans, will have become the "minority." The implications of this demographic shift, already well along in some areas of the United States, has sparked debate on the public use of languages other than English, culturally appropriate educational strategies and models and standards of American national unity.

At the same time, the economic position of Japan challenges American models of production and management. Economic differences are being discussed in cultural terms, with reference to underlying ideas about social organization, attitudes toward work, and the comparative values placed on individual and group achievement. Culture is at the cutting edge of economic production — even in the industrialized world.

Matters of national unity and cultural diversity have continued to be major, central issues in Brazil, Canada, China, India and Indonesia, among others. But perhaps nowhere are they more pressing than in the U.S.S.R. Political *perestroika* has meant cultural restructuring as well, with diverse ethnic, religious, regional and tribal groups asserting their identities, values and institutions in opposition to the dictates of the centralized state. The quality and character of daily life — the locus of cultural policy in its true sense — is now a matter of vociferous debate.

Environmental crises, especially our ability to create but not to solve them, have prompted new examinations of the cultural survival of indigenous peoples and

long term sustainable development (*Cultural Survival Quarterly* 1982 6(2), 1984 8(3), 1987 11(1)). The ongoing, systematic destruction of the tropical rainforest for industrial and agricultural purposes contrasts sharply with its use by its original human inhabitants. Indigenous people of the rainforests generally have developed systems of knowledge and resource use that conserve both nature and culture. Traditional, local relationships with an environment, be it rainforest, wetland, mountainous region, sea coast or other area, are most often more ecologically sound than those of advanced industrial society.

These events and trends are both sobering and humbling. They remind us that grass-roots, people's culture — folklife — a residual category for many decades if not the entire century, is an important force in the world today, directly affecting demographic, political, economic and ecological change. These events also suggest a future in which folklife will attain greater recognition and legitimacy in an increasingly multicultural nation and world.

FOLKLIFE AND THE IDEOLOGY OF MODERNITY

Expressive, grass-roots culture, or folklife, is lived by all of us as members of ethnic, religious, tribal, familial or occupational groups. It is the way we represent our values in stories, songs, rituals, crafts and cooking. Whether the legacy of past generations or a recent innovation, folklife is traditionalized by its practitioners; it becomes a marker of community or group identity. Folklife is a way that people say, "This is who and how we are."

Folklife is as contemporary as it is historical: it is the languages and dialects we speak, the clothes we wear and the other ways in which we express ourselves. It is gospel music performed by African American choirs, Anglo-American foodways, stories taxicab drivers tell, group dances done at Jewish weddings, whistle signals of Salvadoran men, Missouri fiddling sessions and the practical knowledge farmers have of weather; it is

Italians playing *bocce*, Vietnamese curing by rubbing, Puerto Ricans playing the *plena*, Ojibway Indians harvesting wild rice, Pakistanis eating *dal* and *chapati*. While implicating the past, these traditions are as *contemporary* in their expressivity and function as abstract painting, computer synthesized music and microwaveable food. Traditional Virgin Islands scratch band music and calypso singing, *kallaloo* cooking and mask making are contemporary with top 40 hits, fast food and the tourist industry. In Senegal, saying *namaz*, singing praise songs, dancing the *sabar*, participating in *lambe* wrestling, and practicing metal smithing, cloth dying and hair braiding are part of contemporary lives.

Folklife is often and wrongfully associated in the popular mind with incomprehensible song and stilted dance, doll-like performance costumes, and antiquated, naive arts and crafts. Despite the advertising label, folklife is not a large troupe of choreographed, acrobatic, finely tailored youth prancing to glorious orchestral music in romanticized and theatrically inspired visions of peasant life. Nor does folklife properly refer to historical re-enactments of bygone crafts or to other anachronistic performances in which individuals pretend to be others situated in a distant time and place. This tendency to think of folklife as theatrical recreation of the past disparages it, divorces it from its contemporary existence.

The devaluation of grass-roots, peoples' culture grows from a desire to see ourselves as "modern." This desire, as many social historians have noted, is rooted in the practices of the industrial revolution and their ideological consequences. Industrial manufacture — with its rationalization of production to maximize profit — meant relying on those applied sciences that fostered innovative technological development and giving primary legitimacy to systems of value based upon or well-suited to an economic calculus. In the 19th century, many older forms of knowledge, systems of values, technologies and skills that were not useful to factory manufacture, to American and European urban life, and to a growing class of professional scholars, were delegitimated.

An example of this is the official devaluation and delegitimation of medical systems, such as the Greco-Roman-Arabic humoral system, or "Ionian Physics." This system of medicine practiced from the Mediterranean to south Asia had a rich pharmacopeia, an experimental tradition, colleges and training centers, a long-lived, vibrant literature, and tens of thousands of trained physician practitioners serving both urban and rural communities. Yet it was devalued by British colonial officials. Because they held power, not a necessarily or demonstrably better science, they were able to decertify local practitioners and institutions. The result was that medical treatment by indigenous physicians was lost to many, particularly in rural areas. The

relatively few locals trained in British medical schools either returned primarily to cities or stayed abroad. The denial of other, in this case, was also a denial of one's own history. Hippocrates himself, the fountainhead of Western medical practice, practiced the humoral system. Greco-Roman scholars developed the system's pharmacopeia and theory, which, preserved and expanded by Arab physicians, was still taught in European universities well into the 19th century.

Concurrent with the monopolistic assertion of singular, exclusive ways of knowing and forms of knowledge, European and American nations invested power in institutions that transcended traditional loyalties. Allegiance to family, clan, religious sect and tribe might be seen as primordial bases of nationhood, but they had to be ethically superceded for the state to function. This transformation was understood as a fundamental shift in the nature of society by seminal theorists of the late 19th century — from mechanical to organic forms of solidarity by Emile Durkheim, from community to association by Ferdinand Tönnies, from status to civil society by Lewis Henry Morgan, from feudalism to capitalism by Max Weber and Karl Marx. The success of this transformation can be seen in the permanency of its non-folk forms of organization — universities and school systems, judicial courts, parliaments and political parties, businesses and unions — which came to define particular fields of social action. Less formal types of organization — church, home, family, elders, neighborhood, club — receded in importance.

The success of American and European efforts to develop state institutions — and thereby to overcome the past by devaluing it — were mistakenly taken to justify the ethical superiority of colonizing powers over peoples of Africa, Asia, Oceania and South America. An ideology of social and cultural evolution postulated necessary correspondences among technological development, social organization and cultural achievement. In the view of late 19th century social science, technologically advanced peoples were better organized socially and superior culturally. Modernity was opposed to tradition and was associated with political power; it was thought to be characteristic of more sophisticated, higher class, adult-like culture, while tradition was associated with powerlessness and thought to be associated with a simpler, lower class, child-like culture. According to this ideology, the purpose of education, development and cultural policy was for the supposedly deficient, tradition-bound peoples (both foreign and domestic) to follow in the technological, social and cultural footsteps of the advanced and modern.

This view has always been and continues to be challenged. Technological "progress" does not mean "better" for everyone. Technological superiority may indeed mean more efficient production. But it can also mean more efficient destruction. Witness our modern

ability for nuclear annihilation. Witness the devastation and pollution of the environment with efficient forest cutting machines and powerful but toxic synthetic chemicals. Witness the breakup of social units, cultural forms and ethical values resulting in part from television, video and computer games.

The comparative efficacy of social systems is difficult to measure. While modern states are often judged positively for their nuclear families, social and geographic mobility and diffuse systems of authority, these forms have a cost. High divorce and suicide rates, urban crime, drug problems, mid-life crises and alienation are in part the prices paid for the type of society we live in.

It is difficult if not impossible to say that one culture is better than another. All cultures provide a system of symbols and meanings to their bearers, and in this function they are similar. All cultures encourage self-perpetuating, guiding values and forms of aesthetic expression. All cultures encode knowledge, although the ways in which they do so may differ. And when one set of cultural ideas replaces another it is usually a case of knowledge replacing knowledge, not ignorance.

The relationship between ethics, power and technology is also problematic. Progress on technical and social fronts has not been uniform, even in Europe and the United States. Wide discrepancies continue to exist in the accessibility of technological benefits and social opportunities. Within the U.S. and Europe and around the world, the point is easily made that political or coercive power is not necessarily associated with righteousness. Modern states have inflicted ethical horrors upon each other — the world wars, for example, do not bespeak of advanced and civilized values. Nor do institutions such as slavery, colonialism, concentration camps and apartheid visited on the so-called “less developed” or “inferior” speak well of ethical or cultural superiority, as Frederick Douglas, Mohandas Gandhi, Elie Wiesel, Martin Luther King, Jr., Lech Walesa and Desmond Tutu have clearly demonstrated.

AMERICAN UNITY AND DIVERSITY

Since the early part of the 20th century, American popular culture has represented this country as a “nation of nations” that employs a “melting pot” or similar crucible to blend or eliminate differences and produce national unity. Henry Ford actually devised a ritual pageant for workers at one of his plants which involved an “Americanization machine.” At an appropriate phase of their assimilation, Ford would have workers — mainly from central and eastern Europe — dress in their various national costumes, march onto a stage waving their national flags, and enter the machine. The latter was a large and elaborate stage prop replete with smoke, control levers and gauges. Workers would emerge from this crucible of factory experience dressed

in American work clothes and waving American flags. For Ford, Americanization worked, and industry was its engine.

Many Americans (Glazer and Moynihan 1963) have long been aware that the “melting pot” was an inadequate metaphor for American society. For in this melting pot, American Indians were long invisible, African Americans were excluded, and the cultures of others were ignored despite their persistence. Other metaphors — the American salad, stew, patchwork quilt and rainbow — have been offered as alternatives. But now and in the coming decades Americans will have to confront their own diversity as never before. The demographic shift, combined with heightened consciousness of civil and cultural rights will challenge Americans to devise new models of nationhood.

Despite such challenges, the ideology of cultural superiority still looms large. International development policy is typically conceived in this mode, although “grassroots-up” and various types of community and “appropriate” development strategies represent alternatives that take into consideration locally defined goals, values and institutions. Political efforts to define cultural policy in America have, in some cases, taken a monocultural track — “English-language only” initiatives in several states, for example. Some national institutions have also promulgated a monocultural view of American society, stressing the overriding importance of a singular, national, homogeneous core culture. For example, a few years ago, the National Endowment for the Arts issued a report *Toward Civilization* (1988), that promotes arts education as the received wisdom of an elitist Euro-American art history. Folk and non-Western accomplishments and aesthetic ideas are largely absent.

The spurious argument about the need for a standard American culture has been made most forcibly by Alan Bloom (1987) in *The Closing of the American Mind*. On one hand Bloom disparages as weak and irrelevant the types of cultural differences expressed by Americans:

The ‘ethnic’ differences we see in the United States are but decaying reminiscences of old differences that caused our ancestors to kill one another. The animating principle, their soul, has disappeared from them. The ethnic festivals are just superficial displays of clothes, dances and foods from the old country. One has to be quite ignorant of the splendid ‘cultural’ past to be impressed or charmed by these insipid folkloric manifestations... And the blessing given the whole notion of cultural diversity in the United States by the culture movement has contributed to the intensification and legitimization of group politics, along with a corresponding decay of belief that the individual rights enunciated in the Declaration of Independence are anything more than dated rhetoric. (Bloom 1987:192-93)

If such differences are as irrelevant and superficial as Bloom believes, why are they such threats to his monolithic version of national unity? Raising xenophobic fears Bloom says,

Obviously the future of America can't be sustained if people keep only to their own ways and remain perpetual outsiders. The society has got to turn them into Americans. There are natural fears that today's immigrants may be too much of a cultural stretch for a nation based on Western values. (*Time* 1990 135(15):31)

Bloom and others think that attention to diversity should be minimized. Education and public discourse based on diversity would not assimilate "minority" populations to the "mainstream." Multiculturalism as a policy would, Bloom fears, undercut national unity.

On the other side of the debate are those who argue that institutions should broaden their practices to include the wisdom, knowledge, languages and aesthetics of the many peoples who have contributed to the growth of the nation. Too often the history books and history museums have left out the accomplishments of "minority" peoples. For example, American Indian tribes had created governments, civilizations and humanitarian values long before European conquest — yet they have historically been represented in textbooks as savages. African American contributions to American history — from the development of rice agriculture in the U.S. southeast to the creation of technological inventions — have generally been absent from museums. The sacrifices of Chinese Americans, who laid the railroad track that crossed the nation in the 19th century, are removed from public historical consciousness. The contributions, insights and wisdoms of many of America's people have simply been ignored in mainstream representations of history and culture (Stewart and Ruffins 1986, Garfias 1989, Tchen 1990). In response to Bloom, several scholars argue that ignoring diversity in the guise of intellectual or moral superiority has led to a divided nation and bodes ill for the future (*The Graywolf Annual Five* 1988). Failure to accommodate diversity contributed to the destruction of numerous American Indian peoples, to the institution of slavery and continuing discrimination against African Americans, and to the forced internment of Japanese Americans during World War II. Internationally, historical attempts to enforce a monocultural nationhood and segregate or destroy alternative cultural expression has resulted in National Socialism and the Holocaust in Hitler's Germany, Stalinism in the

Soviet Union, apartheid in South Africa, and civil wars in Nigeria, Sri Lanka, Cambodia, Nicaragua and a host of other countries. Indeed, there is broad national and international consensus that cultural rights — to worship or not as one chooses, to have one's own beliefs, to express one's own ethnic, cultural or tribal identity, to speak one's own language and to sing one's own

song — are central, universal human rights.

Acceptance of human cultural rights does not mean the end of supra-local or supra-regional political unities. Nations and larger federations can have political, legal and moral frameworks that enshrine cultural freedoms. But cultural dominance of one group over another need not be a basic condition of contemporary nations, especially democratic ones. European nations, which as colonial powers squabbled over a divided world, will in 1992 unite — despite the centuries-old differences of language, culture and history that separate them. The prospect of a united Europe, where many people are already multilingual and multicultural, has yet to resonate with Americans. But demographic changes taking place in the United States, coupled with an

increased consciousness of issues of representation — resulting largely from the Civil Rights Movement and those that followed — assure that discussions of cultural unity and diversity will grow in frequency and importance.

CULTURAL PLURALISM: FROM LOCAL TO NATIONAL LEVELS

In many communities across the country, institutions are developing strategies for dealing with culturally diverse neighborhoods, student populations, and work forces. They are trying to resolve the tension between the right to sing one's own song and the need to speak with one's neighbors. In California, 42 percent of the total state population and slightly more than half the students in public schools are of "minority" background. The challenge in education is to adjust curricula, staff, and teaching methods and materials to meet their students' needs in facing the future. Educators who envision a multicultural America have diversified their staff to present the cultural perspectives of a broader range of the population and to provide positive role models for students. Innovative language learning programs, multiple points of view in history, art and music, and imaginative use of community resources and expe-

cont. page 13



In an increasingly diverse America, people from "minority" cultures contribute to the many-sided discourse that is national culture. At the 1989 Festival, Earl Nyholm, an Ojibway from Michigan, and Wright Botman, a Hawaiian, discuss questions of form, function and social values in relation to their respective boat making traditions. (Photo by Dane Penland, Smithsonian Institution)

BAILEY'S ELEMENTARY SCHOOL — CULTURAL PLURALISM IN THE 1990s

Bailey's Elementary School and its community is an example of how issues of cultural pluralism may be addressed at the local level in the coming decade. It is a community I know, as resident and PTA president.

Bailey's Elementary School is located in the Bailey's Crossroads area of Fairfax County, Virginia. It is a public school with about 530 students from 43 countries speaking some 22 different languages. About 40 percent of the children speak Spanish as their mother tongue. The other most often spoken native languages in the school are English, Cambodian, Vietnamese, Urdu, Arabic and Korean. Of the 70 native English speakers, about half are European American, half are African American. The staff, including teachers and administrators is also quite diverse. The cultural diversity of the students and their families is apparent in neighborhood grocery stores, churches and mosque, and flyers in store windows.

Cultural diversity is matched by economic diversity. Many parents are recent immigrants from rural areas of El Salvador, Nicaragua and Bolivia, living in relatively low rent apartments and working in unskilled or semi-skilled jobs, as landscaping and construction laborers, housekeepers, child care providers, and servers at fast-food restaurants. More educated and professionally trained immigrants from Latin America are underemployed, as they support their families while seeking certification or language training that would enable them to exercise their occupational skills. Also in the apartments and nearby in smaller homes, live various other immigrants, mainly from south and southeast Asia. Some started as refugees, earned money in jobs and businesses and bought their own homes. Further away but within a half-mile from the lower rent apartments are luxury apartments, some the dwellings of foreign diplomats, and more expensive residential areas, some with homes in the \$200-300,000 range and others with homes worth more than \$1 million.

Teachers, students and indeed most parents are proud of the diverse nature of the school that is reflected in its books, lessons, field trips and cultural events. Some of the academic programs build upon and address the diversity of student backgrounds. As an example, the school initiated a Spanish language partial immersion program. In mixed classes of native English and native Spanish speakers, 40 first graders learn math, science and art in Spanish and language

arts, social studies, music and physical education in English. The English speakers help the Spanish speakers for half the day; they switch roles for the other half. This approach has facilitated language learning in both sets of children, consistent with a body of educational research indicating that such immersion programs result in increased abilities in both native and target languages for all students.

The program has spawned other positive side effects. For one, it helped hold more affluent native English speaking parents and their children in the school by offering a special high quality enhancement program. At the same time, it helped legitimate the knowledge that Spanish speaking students, new to the community, could contribute. Instead of being marginalized and told they were deficient, the Spanish speakers could exhibit leadership roles in class and help their English speaking classmates learn. Role reversal by both sets of students seems quite healthy. Additionally, Spanish speaking teenagers from nearby Stuart High School became involved in the Bailey's program. Some of these teenagers, coming into a high school in 11th or 12th grade from Latin America with little English speaking ability, were, understandably, alienated in their classes. Some were on the verge of dropping out. A timely arrangement between the Bailey's and Stuart Spanish language teachers brought the high schoolers into the classroom on a regular basis to help teach, tutor and mentor the first graders in the program. This has now proved to be a great success. The high school students feel they are making a valuable contribution. The first graders get more attention and help in their studies. Instead of encouraging marginalization and stigmatization of people on the basis of language and class, the program has used culture as a resource for everyone's education.

Yet, in this neighborhood, in one of the wealthiest counties in the nation, the school is seen as a threat, or a problem by a vocal and sizable minority of older homeowners. They decry the "decline" of the school, complaining about the "lack of White faces" and the wrongheadedness of the Spanish language partial immersion program. The community, they assert, is "decaying" as a result of the alien presence — this despite the fact that the apartments were built well before the suburban subdivisions. Long time residents complain about soccer games, the "loud (Latin) music" played in public, the lack of "neighbor-

liness" or "grounds keeping" exhibited by immigrant residents. Many of these people and others, including apartment dwellers, are also worried about alcoholism, crime, undocumented and unemployable immigrants, and other issues bearing on the quality of life. These are legitimate causes of concern, but the challenge is always to separate them from racism, fear and the spurious interpretation of facts. These feelings, based in prejudice, lead some people to see a threat to the American way of life, just because the kids at school are from working class families, have a different color of skin, or speak a different language.

It is interesting to note that in McLean, only a few miles from Bailey's, very affluent European American parents are on a waiting list to enroll their children in a Japanese language partial immersion program. Learning Japanese is not perceived as a threat to American education, but rather as a state-of-the-art program sure to give kids a competitive advantage in the world. The value of the Japanese language program vis-à-vis the Spanish program has nothing to do with the intrinsic grammars, poetics or linguistic attributes of the languages themselves. Instead, language and other cultural expressions may sometimes be valued, and devalued, rather transparently, according to the perceived social status of their bearers. With the support of the county, teachers and administrators at Bailey's are working to use cultural differences in a positive, equitable way to encourage the flowering of ideas and talents from each of its students for the benefit of all its students.

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periences characterize educational strategies which recognize cultural pluralism as both educational context and resource.

In the workplace, some industrial psychologists and sociologists have seen their task as the management and control of an increasingly diverse labor force. Some strategies entail minimizing expressions of diversity, while others more creatively encourage the development of new forms of occupational culture.

On national and international levels there are strong forces for cultural homogenization. If all consumers can be trained to have the same tastes, for example, product and market development become easier and more predictable. Diversity is more cumbersome and troublesome to large multinationals when a myriad of differences in taste, attribution of value, and motivational goals inform consumer choices. International marketers would prefer unanimity — today, generational, tomorrow, global — on what the "real thing" is and how to become identified with it.

On the public side, the United States has no Ministry of Culture, no coven of government bureaucrats to craft and promulgate the nation's culture. We do not have a national language, a national costume, a national dance, a national food. If we did have a singular national culture, what would it be? National cultural institutions have long played a role of encouraging the peoples of the United States to create their own cultural expressions in the context of larger frameworks of free speech and cultural democracy. The National Endowments do this through granting programs. The Smithsonian Institution has recently played a leading role in encouraging cultural pluralism, seeing it as a healthy extension of democratic and populist practices which ultimately strengthen the nation. The Smithsonian has made cultural pluralism in its audience, its exhibits, its research, its ideas and its staff a high priority for the 1990s.



Education in various types of settings conveys knowledge and aesthetics of diverse cultural traditions. At the 1989 Festival, Leodegario Reyno instructs children on the methods of coconut leaf weaving developed by Filipinos in Hawaii. The Festival is an educational process different from the classroom and usual museum setting. It relies upon human interaction and stresses oral, manual and sensory means for transmitting insight. (Photo by Richard Strauss, Smithsonian Institution)

ISSUES IN A MULTICULTURAL SOCIETY

According to some interpreters of culture, the world is becoming more homogeneous. The spread of mass, popular commercial culture with a discrete set of television programs and formats, fast food, top music hits, designer jeans and other fashions, and a standard repertoire of consumer goods seems to have engulfed the planet. Modern technology — from television and radio to videocassette recorders, communications satellites, modems and fax machines — has seemingly reduced distances between the earth's peoples. We can send our voices and images around the planet in a matter of seconds.

Many cultures, as Alan Lomax (1977) has ably noted, are in moral and aesthetic danger as a result of this globalization of American mass culture, and as a result of the continued valorization of elite forms of culture.

The power and frequency with which mass culture penetrates everyday life can suggest to people that local, grass-roots culture is not valuable. Publicity attending the purchases of masterpieces for multi-million dollar sums can give people the feeling that their own creations are relatively worthless. Some people stop speaking their local language, discontinue their art, music, foodways and other cultural expressions in the belief that imitating either mass or elite forms of culture is a route to a better position in the society. Old time music, storytelling, traditional dance, and boatbuilding cease, as do traditional forms of mutual support; a culture begins to die.

Cultures need to be conserved. Just as we mourn biological species when they become endangered and die out, so too do we mourn cultures that die. For each culture represents scores of traditions built up, usually over many generations. Each culture provides a unique vision of the world and how to navigate through it. Cultures are best conserved when they are dynamic, alive, when each generation takes from the past, makes it their own, contributes to it and builds a future. Cultural change and dynamism are integral to culture. Cultures were not created years ago to persist forever in unchanging form. Cultures are continually recreated in daily life as it is lived by real people.

For this reason, as Breckenridge and Appadurai (1988) suggest, the world is increasingly becoming at once more culturally heterogeneous as well as more homogeneous. New variations of being Indian, for example, arise from cultural flows occasioned by the immigrant experience, tourism and reverse immigration. A Hindu temple, housed in a historic building, is established in Flushing, New York; fast food restaurants featuring an Indian spiced menu are built in New Delhi. New contexts occasion creative applications of tradi-

tional forms. New culture unlike that previously in New York or New Delhi is created.

Technology aids this process. Cheap, easy to use tape recorders, video cameras and the like begin to democratize the power of media. Anyone can make a recording or a film, preserve and document their cultural creation and share it with others. A videocassette recorder can be used in India to view Rocky V, but it can also be used to view a home video of a Hindu wedding sent by relatives living in New York.

The main issue in a monocultural society — whether relatively small and homogeneous or large and totalitarian — is that of control. Who has the power and authority to make culture, to promulgate it and have people accept it? Historically, in colonial situations, the colonizers have tended to dictate cultural choices and definitions of public and state culture. Those colonized accept in general terms the culture, language, garb, or religion of the powerful, and then continue their own ways in various forms of resistance. In this sense, those colonized, subjugated or out of power are often more multicultural than those in power — for it is they that are forced to learn two languages, to dress up and down, to participate in the “mainstream” as well as in their own culture. Individuals from the disempowered learn to be successful in both cultures by code switching — playing a role, speaking and acting one way with the out-group, another way with one’s own people.

Increasing cultural homogeneity and heterogeneity calls for increased ability to participate in a variety of cultures — national, religious, occupational, tribal, ethnic and familial — on a daily basis. Code switching and compartmentalization are part of everyday life. For example, mainstream forms of language use, comportment and dress may be used in school or at work during the day, but may be replaced by a different dialect and style back home in the evening. Religious culture and occupational culture may be compartmentalized by an anthropology professor who teaches evolution during the week and Genesis at Sunday school. As our identities are increasingly multiple — as mothers, as workers, as household heads, for example — and as these identities are continually brought into juxtaposition, people will with greater awareness participate in and draw upon a multiplicity of cultures. Most Americans already eat foods from a variety of culinary traditions — though our palates are generally more multicultural than our minds. And in daily life we are liable to use a variety of languages — including not only “natural” languages but also those of word processing, mathematics and technical fields. One dimensional views of ourselves and others as being members of either this culture or that culture will seem increasingly simplistic, irrelevant and unimaginative. Individual management of a multiplicity of roles and the cultural forms associated with them will offer new creative potentials for person-



Forums for cultural interchange may unite people who share a common past, enriching their own cultural and historical identity. French fiddlers from western France, Louisiana, Quebec, New England and North Dakota, separated by centuries of musical and cultural history are united on the National Mall at the 1989 Festival. Says Louisiana Cajun fiddler Dewey Balfa, "If it wasn't for the Festival I'd have to travel around the world for a generation or two to hear this richness and variety of French music." (Photo by Dane Penland, Smithsonian Institution)

ality development, as well as, no doubt, new difficulties.

Socially, multiculturalism is a fact of life in many communities. Increasingly, formal institutions must respond to the consequences of a multicultural society. Educational and research organizations will have to facilitate skill in multiculturality. As geographic distance and boundaries become more easily traversed, we will simply have to achieve greater cross-cultural and intercultural fluency than we now possess. Monoculturalism, even amongst the most powerful, will be untenable. To be successful, Americans will have to learn about the Japanese, the Soviets, the Chinese, the Muslim world, and many others. And Americans will need greater self-knowledge if we are to deal with the increasing diversity of our neighborhoods and institutions. Cultural monologues will be out, dialogues or multilogues in, as we get used to the idea that there are different ways of knowing, feeling and expressing. As differences in perspective are institutionalized, our museums, schools, workplaces and other organizations will become richer, more multilayered and complex, informed by alterna-



Cultural resonances may transcend great historical and geographic distances. Russians have a repertoire of traditional greeting songs for saints which they rarely use. At the 1988 Festival, when Italian and Portuguese Americans from Massachusetts paraded their saints past the Soviet program, the Russians broke into appropriate song and festive dance, then some cried and embraced the paraders. (Photo by Laurie Minor, Smithsonian Institution)

tive, juxtaposed and newly synthesized varieties of aesthetic and conceptual orientations.

The authority to speak and to know will be increasingly more widely distributed. Those who are traditionally studied, observed and written about may reverse roles. This is illustrated by the experience of Tony Seeger, a cultural anthropologist and curator of Smithsonian Folkways Records who did his fieldwork in the Brazilian rainforest among the Suyá Indians. On his first trip in 1971, he recorded Suyá songs and narrative in an effort to understand why the Suyá sing. His book, *Why Suyá Sing* (1987), is a masterful, scholarly attempt to interpret the significance of song in that culture. When Seeger returned to the field in 1980, the Suyá had acquired tape recorders of their own. They were recording and listening to their own songs, as well as those from afar. As Suyá themselves became cultural investigators, they recorded the banjo picking Seeger and wanted to know why he also sings.

The role of the Festival of American Folklife in an increasingly diverse and multicultural society is to promote cultural equity, which is an equitable chance for all cultures to live and continue forward, to create and contribute to the larger pool of human intellectual, artistic and material accomplishment. The Festival fosters a general sense of appreciation for cultures so what they speak, know, feel and express may be understood. The Festival is a collaborative engagement that fosters dialogue or multilogue between community, self and others. Rather than encourage monocultural competitions, the Festival creates the time and space for cultural juxtapositions, where bearers of differing cultures can meet on neutral ground to experience the richness of making meaning, as well as the similarities that make them all human.

The Festival rests upon a moral code that affirms the cultural right to be human in diverse ways. People of different cultures must not continually find their culture



Cultural groups brought into contact find and explore resonances in their traditions. At the 1988 Festival, Italian and Portuguese Americans from Massachusetts paraded their saints on the Mall to the accompaniment of brass marching bands, much as they do in Boston. Salvadorans, also on the Mall as part of the Washington, D.C. Festival program, made floor drawings in sawdust for the saints to process upon — a Latin American tradition. A mutually reinforcing and enlightening dialogue between the two traditions occurred as the groups "figured out" how to participate in each others' culture. (Photo by Dane Penland, Smithsonian Institution)

devalued, their beliefs delegitimated and their kids being told they are not good enough. For official standards come and go very quickly and are often tied to a particular history and exercise of power. Rather, we should respect the generations of knowledge, wisdom and skill that build a culture, and the excellences nurtured therein, so that, as Johnetta Cole, cultural anthropologist and president of Spelman College says, "We are for difference. For respecting difference. For allowing difference. Until difference doesn't make any more difference" (Cole 1990).

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The Festival of American Folklife, like all events, is a moment in history. Here, the king of Ghana's Ga people meets a Rastafarian from Jamaica. Separated by an ocean and several hundred years of history, this 1989 meeting on the Mall engendered interpretations and emotions for both groups of people. (Photo by Rick Vargas, Smithsonian Institution)



New and rich types of cultural creations and negotiations are likely to arise from the juxtapositions of cultures and their exemplars. Marie McDonald is one of Hawaii's foremost traditional lei makers. Although there is a traditional lei for royalty, Marie had never made one, as the last Hawaiian king died in 1903. She decided to make such a lei to honor the visit of the Ga king to the Festival site in 1989. After making the royal lei, negotiations via walkie-talkie enabled Marie and the Ga king to decide on how the lei would be presented. After consultation with his advisors and holy man, the king decided to follow Hawaiian custom, receiving the lei over his head and a kiss from Marie. This was followed by a handshake. (Photo by Jeff Tinsley, Smithsonian Institution)

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FOLKLIFE OF THE U.S. VIRGIN ISLANDS: PERSISTENCE AND CREATIVITY

Olivia Cadaval

Despite many challenges, folklife is still a creative resource in the lives of many U.S. Virgin Islanders. Virgin Islands' folklife is the legacy of generations who brought cultural traditions from Africa, Europe and elsewhere, adapted those traditions to meet local needs, and combined them with those of other cultures in vibrant and useful new forms. Although unique, the development of traditional culture in the Virgin Islands has been affected by the same historical movements and social practices that have shaped other Caribbean societies. This development can be understood within the history and geography of the Caribbean as a whole.

THE CARIBBEAN CONTEXT

Most islands in the Caribbean Sea are mountaintops created by great volcanic eruptions along a planetary seam that arches from Florida to South America. These were the lands Columbus first "discovered" and claimed for the Spanish empire when he came to what would later be called the "New World." Preoccupation with gold and other grand riches made subsequent Spanish settlements in the Caribbean merely staging areas for Spain's colonization of the American mainland. This approach to exploiting the new territories left room in the Caribbean for colonization by other European nations.

Commercial entrepreneurs working in league with European governments developed the flatter parts of islands into plantations. Indigenous peoples — Caribs, Arawaks, and others — were driven off or enslaved if they did not die of the foreign diseases brought from

Europe. Some islands were almost completely cleared of native vegetation for cultivation of cash crops, transforming them into agricultural production units in a worldwide system of economic exchange. On other islands, enslaved workers used land unsuitable for cash crops as provision grounds, or gardens, for growing food.

An infamous triangular trade linked the Caribbean islands (and later, South and North America) with western Africa and Europe. Manufactured goods from Europe were exchanged by European and African slave traders for people captured in western Africa. Those Africans who survived the passage across the Atlantic chained in ships were sold as slaves, on the island of St. Thomas and elsewhere. The

slave owners who bought them did so with profits made from plantation grown and processed sugar, molasses and rum. These Caribbean products were shipped to Europe to meet the necessities of a newly urbanized labor force. Profits realized in the European sale could purchase trade goods bound again for Africa and the trade in slaves.

The plantation system itself, which combines mini-



The infamous triangular trade linked different modes of production together in a world system

The U.S. Virgin Islands program has been made possible by the Honorable Governor Alexander A. Farrelly, the Office of the Governor, the 18th Legislature of the Virgin Islands, the Department of Economic Development and Agriculture, Division of Tourism, Department of Planning and Natural Resources, the Virgin Islands Council on The Arts, Paradise Motors, Inc., Little Switzerland, Virgin Islands AT&T, West Indian Company Ltd., and other corporate sponsors.

mal cost and maximal control of labor with large scale production of a single crop, was invented by the Portuguese for use in their island possessions off the coast of Africa. In the Caribbean, the slave plantation reached its potential for both profitability and human destructiveness. It was a complex institution, with a diversified and stratified labor force, international financing, and a developed body of management theory.

Enslaved persons defied the practices of slavery by whatever means available. Organized rebellions began to sweep most colonies within a decade after the arrival of the first slave ships. The first insurrection of enslaved African runaways, who came to be called Maroons, took place in 1522 in Santo Domingo against the Spanish. Jamaican Maroons have a long tradition of resistance and have built the longest continuously surviving communities. In the then Danish Virgin Islands, a successful but short-lived revolt on St. John in 1733 permanently stunted plantation slavery on that island. The system was reformed after a revolt in St. Croix in 1848 when slavery was declared illegal by the Danish crown. After that entrepreneurs secured the labor of persons already resident in the Caribbean by means of contracts. These contracts granted workers rights and living standards little better than those obtained during slavery.

Many former slaves did not become contract laborers. Instead, they practiced agricultural and craft skills learned from a variety of African and European sources. The free rural and urban communities they built were developments of social forms that had existed during slavery but outside of and in resistance to it.

Caribbean island-born or creole cultures developed to meet the challenges of this historical experience. These cultures emerged, as did those in many other areas of intense European colonization, through creolization, a process of cultural amalgamation that results in identifiably new forms. Built on African foundations and framed with European social forms, they were constructed by strong, active, creative people who lived in complex relationships to European derived and dominated institutions. In the Caribbean, people created distinct cultures on different islands because of

variations in the nature and extent of continuing encounters with native peoples, Europeans, Africans, Asians and later, with the bearers of creole cultures from other islands.

THE U.S. VIRGIN ISLANDS: CULTURAL AND HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

The Virgin Islands, U.S. and British, are geographically part of the Lesser Antilles, a chain of small islands east of Puerto Rico colonized and ruled primarily by the English, Dutch, Danish and French. The U.S. Virgin Islands are a closely grouped archipelago of over 50 mountainous islands, most of which are not presently inhabited. St. Thomas, St. John and St. Croix are the three major islands. Columbus named the group "Las Islas Virgenes" in honor of the Swedish St. Ursula and her legendary army of 11,000 martyred virgins. On his second voyage in 1493, Columbus records that his ship briefly anchored at the mouth of the Salt River in St. Croix. He and his men were attacked by Carib Indians and fled eastward toward Puerto Rico. Colonization of the Virgin Islands did not begin until the 17th century and then only sporadically with English,

Spanish, French and Dutch involvement. The Danes established their first foothold on what is now the U.S. Virgin Islands when the Danish West India Company received a royal charter for the island of St. Thomas in 1671. Under the leadership of the governor of St. Thomas, Denmark occupied St. John in 1717, and St. Croix was purchased from the French in 1733. In 1917, the United States purchased the islands from Denmark to use as a naval base to protect Panama Canal traffic from possible German attack.

In the U.S. Virgin Islands the earliest European settlers were English, Dutch, and French, but the largest immigrant population was originally from Ghana and other parts of West Africa. Old family names reflect Danish and Spanish ancestry as well as some Italian, Irish, Lithuanian, Polish, German and Russian heritage. A Sephardic Jewish population from the Dutch Islands



The Caribbean with an inset of the U.S. Virgin Islands

¹ According to *The Penguin Dictionary of Saints* (Middlesex, England: Penguin Books, Inc., 1965), 333-334, the legend goes back to the 4th or 5th century when Ursula, to avoid an unwanted marriage, departed with her maiden companions from Britain, where her father was king. On their way back from a visit to Rome, they were slaughtered by the Huns in Cologne. By the 9th century the legendary number of martyred maidens had grown to thousands.

relocated in St. Thomas in the 1790s and established the Hebrew Congregation of St. Thomas, the second oldest synagogue in the hemisphere. Moravian missionaries were invited to the islands to educate and Christianize enslaved Africans in the early 18th century and played a major role in the development of the local culture. The Moravians acknowledged the importance of local language by translating the Bible into Dutch creole. Laborers from the mideast and India came to the islands as contract laborers after the Danes abolished slavery in 1848.

Principal economic activity in the Virgin Islands historically centered around two institutions: the port, exemplified by St. Thomas, and the plantation, exemplified by St. John and St. Croix. While port and plantation complemented each other, they had different kinds of economic needs and provided different kinds of opportunities; they formed different contexts in which cultural forms developed. The port required a labor force that moved the articles of commerce. It fostered urban living, growth of an artisan class, and a cosmopolitan perspective. The organization of plantation life served the cultivation and processing of sugar. In many places, enslaved workers were allowed to till small plots of land to provide food for themselves and sometimes for the planter's household. Working these gardens, slaves practiced traditional horticultural skills, acquired new ones, and established an exchange economy among themselves. Some managed to buy their freedom with money raised from selling their crops. While patterns of mutual support evolved in the plantations among enslaved workers, freemen tended to associate with the planter society and often moved to the ports.

Danish rule was marked by political neutrality. They were usually uninvolved in the European conflicts that spilled over into the colonies. St. Thomas, with its deep, safe, and neutral harbor, developed into a major international free port. Neighboring peoples often sought asylum in the Danish islands, as in the case of Tortolans fleeing from English attacks. Economic opportunities attracted "free coloureds" from other islands. "Free



In a Three Kings Day parade in St. Croix, a moko jumbie towers over most spectators (Photo by Mary Jane Soule)

coloured" was the legal term used by the Danish for enslaved persons with African ancestry who had been granted or had purchased their freedom, and for the children born to free women with African ancestry. Slaves could be given their freedom by their masters throughout the Caribbean. Under the Danes, slaves could also buy their freedom.

The diverse national origins of settlers, the formation of different socio-economic classes which sometimes cut across racial divisions, and migrations between islands have all contributed to the unique character of U.S. Virgin Islands. Creolized traditions have evolved in a spectacular variety of forms that can be seen to define an Afro-European cultural spectrum. In the area of music and dance, an African call-and-response legacy shapes the song tradition of *cariso*, while a European influence predominates in *quadrille* dancing. Basket-making traditions introduced by Moravian missionaries have a recognizable European style also found in baskets made in Appalachia. Some traditions like *moko jumbie* stiltwalking and calypso singing were developed elsewhere in the Caribbean but are now part of the U.S. Virgin Islands culture. Some of these forms from other islands remain distinct, but most have been given a Virgin Islands imprint. The styles and traditions distinctive to the Islands are what Virgin Islanders call



In her home in St. John, Mrs. Louise Seaver prepares whist-need for making a basket (Photo by Karen Samuel)

their native culture. In the context of Caribbean creolization, the concept of native is thereby given a new meaning. Native culture here means an emergent, continuously evolving, local creole culture that is distinct from similar cultures of other islands. This native culture absorbs and reworks cultural practices which came and are still coming from both outside and within the Caribbean.

ST. THOMAS

In 1666, the Danish crown chartered the Danish West India Company to occupy and take possession of St. Thomas. However, the first European settlers, as on most other Virgin Islands, were English or Dutch. Strategically located at the head of the chain of the Lesser Antilles with the Atlantic Ocean on one side and the Caribbean Sea on the other, St. Thomas is endowed with a deep and protected harbor. It was a principal site in the trade of manufactured goods, enslaved human beings and sugar products between Europe, Africa and the Americas. The island became a central holding place for slaves brought from the African Gold Coast. The port prospered as trading schooners constantly sailed in and out of the harbor exporting sugar, indigo, spices, cotton, grain, tobacco, and fruits, and importing and transshipping manufactured goods and slaves.

Because of Danish neutrality during the 17th century European wars and St. Thomas' good harbor and location, the island became a haven for pirates, many of whom became legendary figures and left their names to mark the landscape. Tourists stop and gaze from Drake's Seat and visit Blackbeard's and Bluebeard's castles, now incorporated into hotels.

Initially, St. Thomas had tobacco and cotton plantations. They were, in the most part, replaced by sugar by 1765. But by 1815 the island's value as a trading hub came to dominate its economy and culture. Most St. Thomians came to see their traditions centered around the urban marketplace, international trade, and city lifestyles in the deep water port of Charlotte Amalie. In an expanding economy dominated by energetic, cosmo-



Joe La Place, a French fisherman from St. Thomas, narrates a personal experience (Photo by Mario Picayo)

politan merchants, an urban class of workers and artisans — including a growing free Black population — built the grand residences and shouldered the work of transport and craftsmen's trades. Urban neighborhoods developed. These were a center of social life and helped define the character of Charlotte Amalie. Savanne, one of the earliest of these neighborhoods, lives in island memory as the epitome of urban native culture. The cultural complexity of the island increased as migrants arrived from other islands for political and economic reasons. The vital communities of French fishermen of Frenchtown and the French farmers in the Northside, now recognized as native, were formed by settlers who emigrated in the 1860s from St. Barthelemy, known locally as St. Barths. Historian Antonio Jarvis relates how they first came to the island:

Shortly after slavery was abolished, in 1848, two members of the LaPlace family left St. Barths for St. Thomas of which they had heard a great deal. These young men found that Charlotte Amalie was still a very busy port but they noticed also that the natives neglected the land; the green hillsides were already uncultivated and copse-grown; so, instead of engaging in fishing, they thought they might do better by supplying vegetables to the people of the city. These LaPlace boys soon climbed over St. Peter Mountain and Crown and discovered that Barret and Hull estates were good sites for farms, and more fertile than other areas. They worked for three years until they were no longer renters, but owners of the land. On off-days they caught fish, as it was a quick cash crop. After three years of living in St. Thomas, they decided to make a trip back to St. Barthelemy to get the girls they had left behind. It hardly took any time for Trudi and Doni LaPlace to marry and find twenty other adventurers willing to go back to St. Thomas. This was the beginning of a continuous migration, stopped only by the United States immigration laws. (Jarvis 1944: 54-55)

Distinct French communities continue. Known as "Frenchies," those who live in Frenchtown are primarily



Children play in the Big Yard in Charlotte Amalie, St. Thomas, 1950 (Photo by Claude Maloon)

fishermen and boat builders, though most of the work they now do is repair. The traditional form is the *pirogue*, a dugout canoe carved from a tree trunk. In Frenchtown backyards, fishpots are made and mended. Frenchies who live on the north side of the island come to the market early on Saturday to sell their herbs, fruits and vegetables.

French woven straw hats and baskets are still made by a few women in Frenchtown, but in earlier times, almost all women made their own. Married women wore a *caleche*, a shoulder length headdress of plaited straw covered with white cloth, resembling hats worn by peasant women in Brittany. Men also wore distinctive hats. Even today, most older women keep rolls of plaited grass from St. Barths to make hats for Sunday or special occasions.

In the late 19th century, when steamships replaced sailing vessels, St. Thomas became less important as a trading port. But it continued to be an important coaling station, or fuel stop, for coal-powered ships until the 1930s. Older Virgin Islanders still remember coaling times when men and women carried baskets of coal on their heads to the docks. They were given a "tally," a coin which could be cashed in for two cents, for each basket. Traditional sea shantys still heard today, like "Roll Isabella Roll," comment on the tally days and the exploitation of the coal carriers:

*Roll Isabella roll, ob roll Isabella roll,
Roll Isabella roll, the damn shopkeepers got
the island down.
Went to the shop with a quarter to buy
fifteen cent tbing,
When I looked in me hand, the damn
shopkeeper give me tally for change.*

Although it is no longer a shipping center, St. Thomas is still a busy port. Cruise ships dominate its harbor, and tourists replace the traders of earlier times. But aspects of traditional island life persist. The combination of port town lifestyles and enduring cultural heritage, together with a constant flow of ideas and people from the outside, have made St. Thomians at once cosmopolitans and keepers of tradition. Fishermen still go out at dawn in Hull Bay and sell their catch by the docks. Fishpots are made and mended in the back yards of homes. The northside French farmers continue to grow herbs and vegetables in terraced gardens. Johnny cake and fry fish are fried in coal pots at the beach on Sunday. Women prepare traditional cakes and candy, and men and women make guavaberry wine for holidays. Young people are still taught hand crafts, many of which were introduced by the Moravian missionaries. And songs based on traditional forms continue to be composed: a number of calypso songs about the recent hurricane, Hugo, were submitted to a "Hugo Song Contest" sponsored by local radio station "Lucky 13."

ST. JOHN

A little over two miles from St. Thomas, St. John became part of the Danish crown in the early 1700s. St. John was first acquired to expand sugar cultivation, but the plantations did not last long. One of the earliest and initially successful slave rebellions in the Caribbean took place in St. John in 1733. That same year the island was devastated by drought and a hurricane. Many plantations were destroyed, and many plantation owners returned to Europe. Freed Blacks from other islands acquired some of the land and attempted to revitalize the sugar plantations. Although sugar cultivation continued for some time, it never became as extensive as it had been before the rebellion.

From the mid-19th to the mid-20th century, there emerged a new class of estate owners who, though landowners, were relatively poor and less powerful than those in the larger colonial system. They had only limited need for laborers and cultivated smaller plots of land. As the plantation system declined, plantation laborers continued to sustain their peasant society on the fringes of the plantations by gardening for subsistence and internal trade. According to anthropologist Karen Fog Olwig, the provision grounds allotted to slaves for their own subsistence enabled them to develop a system of production and distribution that outlived the plantation (Fog Olwig 1987: 6-7).

To this day, a social infrastructure resists exploitation from the outside, supported by a traditional subsistence economy and cooperative behavior. Guy Benjamin, a local historian and educator, recalls his growing up in his book *Me and My Beloved Virgin St. John U.S.A.* (1981:1), "East End was a self-sustained village. We had our cows, goats, pigs, chickens, fish and seafood, sea-grapes from the shore, fruits from the land, our school, and six or seven sailboats to go to St. Thomas for all our desires." The community's eleven families shared the work in hard times and in good times.

Fishing, gardening, charcoal making, masonry, herbal healing and traditional cooking, all support a vital local



Mrs. Marguerita Frett stretches, shapes, and twists "jaubone" candy on a marble slab as children anxiously await the cutting and cooling of this homemade treat. (Photo by Janet Burton)

exchange system augmented by an inter-island trade. Benjamin recalls the first motorboat he ever saw, "Every week the *Adella* went to St. Thomas with her load of cows and returned filled to her gunwales with sugar, flour, matches, oil, lard, butter, fat pork, salted beef, rice and cornmeal" (Benjamin 1981: 28).

Although gardeners, fishermen, basketmakers and others involved in traditional occupations are now turning to the tourist industry for a living, they resist the destruction of their identity, persist in their traditions, and transform foreign lifestyles into their own. Miss Lucy earns her living touring visitors around St. John in her flower-decorated taxi. She drives visitors from one end of the island to the other on the recently paved road which connects the more commercial port of Cruz Bay on the western end with the more traditional East End and Coral Bay. She stops by the sugar apple, guava, coconut and genip trees explaining their cultural, culinary and medicinal importance. A tour of the island with such a guide is a trip into the tales of the island, the lore of the "bush" or wild herbs, and a history of its communities and culture.

Like tourism, the dominant presence of the National Park Service has greatly affected the daily life and culture of St. Johnians. In 1956 the National Park Service acquired two-thirds of the island from Laurance Rockefeller as a national park. This acquisition has generated mixed feelings among St. Johnians. On the one hand, the Park Service has protected the land from massive tourist development. On the other hand, St. Johnians lack full access to the land resources which are critical to the continuity of their lifestyle and craft traditions.

ST. CROIX

St. Croix, the only island of the three principal U.S. Virgin Islands with large areas suitable for farming, became a classic Caribbean planter society. Intrigue and conflict among the Dutch, English and French gave the island its claim to seven flags. Denmark bought it from the French, who had abandoned it when they ordered all inhabitants removed to the then booming plantations of the island of St. Domingue (which became Haiti). After the Danish purchase, and because of the Danes' lack of interest in settling there, English and Dutch settlers from St. Thomas and St. John and from the "down islands" to the east — St. Kitts, Nevis and Barbados — were invited to start estates, the local name for plantations. A "free coloured" class is mentioned in documents as early as 1744, some of whom became estate owners.

The Danes wavered about emancipation, but a liberal Danish governor, Peter von Scholten, declared the end of slavery during a major slave uprising in 1848. After emancipation, liberated slaves were replaced on

the plantations by contract workers from the down islands.

Migrants from Nevis, St. Kitts, Barbados, and Antigua brought with them dramatic and narrative traditions, including "tea meetings" and "masquerade jigs," which were incorporated into the Crucian cultural repertoire. A tea meeting was a community social event that included an oratory contest and a talent show. The tea meeting was charged with pomp and humor. Participants challenged each other's oratorical skills and knowledge of history and current events.

Masquerading is a long established tradition on the island. On holidays, small costumed groups would "dance masquerade" from estate to estate, singing and jesting as they went. The procession concluded in town, in either Christiansted or Frederiksted. Today this tradition has been transformed into an organized town parade. A "masquerade jig" is the fancy footwork danced by some of the masquerade troupes.

Masquerading dance traditions survive in Crucian dance music. One of these forms is quadrille, a tradition introduced in the 19th century by European planters, which became very important in Crucian social life. Once held on the estates under palm-thatched shelters, today's dances can be found in St. Gerald's Hall in Frederiksted accompanied by "fungi" or "scratch" bands. Fungi is named for a traditional dish that combines a variety of available ingredients, so the fungi band — also called scratch because of a gourd "scratched" for percussion — brings together a variety of instruments including life, drums, banjo, bass, trumpet, bass guitar. Instruments change according to band. Both fungi stew and a fungi band have a down-home, informal style.

Cariso and calypso songs comment on current events and individuals, voice complaints and take sides in controversies. Cariso's praise and derision came to the islands with slavery. Its extemporaneous composition and flattering or satirical content make cariso the forerunner of contemporary calypso. Immigrant groups



A scratch band performs traditional quelbè music, indigenous to the Virgin Islands. From left to right the instruments are: scratch (scratched), guitar, clares, rhythm pipe (cass pipe), and ukelele. (Photo courtesy the Von Scholten Collection, Eud Baer Public Library and Archives, St. Thomas, Virgin Islands)



In the 1930s, market vendors inspect fresh provisions recently arrived from neighboring islands. Trade with adjacent islands still creates spontaneous marketplaces like this one on the wharf in Christiansted, St. Croix. (Photo by Raymond Jacobs)

have often been cariso's target. For example, the cariso song "Me Mother Had Tell Me Not to Marry No Bobajan" warns girls about the "Bobajans" or "Bajans" — men from Barbados who came to work in large numbers after emancipation. A Crucian cariso singer commented on the rhetorical power of the songs in an interview: "When you did anything that was wrong, they look at you from head to foot — and they composed a song about you. And that lasts forever. Even though you die, somebody remembers the song."

In 1878 a rebellion now commemorated as "Fire-burn," because half the town of Frederiksted was burned down, erupted in reaction to desperate economic conditions and restrictive post-emancipation labor laws. Mary Thomas or "Queen Mary," a canefield worker and one of the leaders of the rebellion, is celebrated in cariso songs. The following stanza, still popular among cariso singers, praises Queen Mary's readiness to die for her cause:

*Queen Mary - 'tis where you going to burn-
Queen Mary - 'tis where you going to burn-
Don't tell me nothing I'll
Just fetch the match and oil
Bassin (Christiansted) jailhouse, 'tis where
I'm going to burn.*

Other aspects of Crucian life and history also become themes for songs — conflicts with estate managers and foremen, the economic hard times in the 1950s, horse-racing and, most recently, hurricane Hugo. Many a calypso was written about hurricane Hugo and performed during the traditional celebration of the Day of the Kings this year. Although calypso developed in Trinidad, it has assumed a distinct style in the Virgin Islands. Calypsonian Mighty Pat assessed the situation after the hurricane in his song:

*When I looked around and saw the condition
of our Virgin Island,
I tell myself advantage can't done.
One day you rich. Next day you poor.*

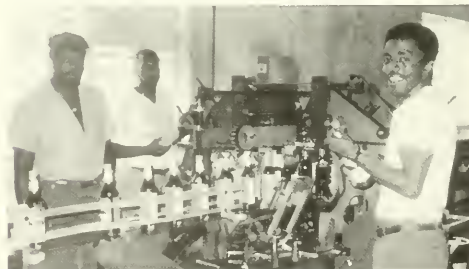
*One day you up the ladder. Next day you
crawling on the floor.
Beauty is skin deep; material things is for a time.
A corrupted soul will find no peace of mind
I think that is all our gale Hugo was trying to
say to all mankind.*

As in St. John, cane workers survived on crops and animals raised on provision grounds of the large estates. Richard A. Schrader, Sr. describes these grounds in his history, *Notes of a Crucian Son*:

The nega ground on the estates' land was truly a blessing. From it came: tanya, yam, okra, water-melon, cabbage, corn, cassava, pumpkin, potato and even kallaloo for the Crucian kitchen table. For saltin (meat) the people raised chickens, hogs, goats and sheep. A few people owned milking cows. But most favored goat milk and raised their children on it. Beef was produced by the big land owners with large herds of cattle. (Schrader 1989: 31)

Sugar cultivation continued into the 1960s although the economy had begun to shift with the opening of the Hess oil refinery, the Martin Marietta alumina plant, and a boom in tourism that continued to draw immigrants from the down islands. Immigrants from the mainland U.S., known in the islands as "continentals," came in at this time as school teachers for the mushrooming migrant population and later moved into hotel and restaurant management work. Much farm land has now become grazing fields for beef and dairy cattle and goats. Rastafarian communities from Jamaica (and later native born) began to settle in the area in the 1970s, cultivating vegetable gardens as others turned to service occupations.

Puerto Ricans, now a significant part of the population, came primarily from the islands of Culebra and Vieques to work as cane cutters. After less than a generation, many have become government workers and small businessmen. Although they are established in their new communities, like many of the other immigrants they maintain a link with their homeland. It



Virgin Islands rum factory workers bottle and label Cruzan Rum before it is distributed to local and international markets. (Photo by Jewel Ross Sage)

has become traditional for the mayor of Vieques to take a boat to St. Croix on "Friendship Day" to commemorate the ties between Crucians and Puerto Ricans. During the Christmas season, families visit between islands in *parranda* or holiday serenading traditions.

Puerto Rican traditions both from the European and African ends of the Caribbean cultural spectrum have become part of Crucian culture. Among these are *baquiné* or songs for children's wakes, and the *rosario cantao* sung in the highlands of Puerto Rico in the month of May, the month of the flowers, for the Day of the Cross:

<i>Mayo florido,</i>	Blossoming May,
<i>Mes de las flores -</i>	Month of the flowers -
<i>Aquí te cantan,</i>	To you they sing,
<i>Los trovadores.</i>	The troubadours.

A traditional Puerto Rican song form, the *plena*, also thrives in St. Croix and provides social commentary much like cariso and calypso.

U.S. VIRGIN ISLANDS AND THE FESTIVAL

Native cultural patterns represent both historical continuities and an ever changing pattern of adaptations and amalgamations. Several key values and orientations continue to characterize local culture in the Virgin Islands. Chief among these is education. Islanders also honor skill: with words, with crafts, in work. "Throwing words" is a highly valued verbal skill characteristic of the Caribbean in general — the ability to contend effectively with words in social, ceremonial and competitive situations. As described by Roger Abrahams,

The range of verbal repertory includes the ability to joke aggressively, to 'make war' with words by insult and scandal pieces, to tell Ananzi stories (any kind of folk tale), and to make speeches and toasts appropriate to ceremonial occasions. (Abrahams 1983: 57)

Expressive forms are as vital in everyday life as in

rituals and celebrations. On the three islands there are also rich traditions of local history and personal narratives.

Another value islanders hold in common is what they call "good manners." These go beyond politeness in the appropriate recognition of another person upon meeting and before engaging in social or business conversation. Good manners are learned in the home and reinforced in school. Richard Schrader remarks:

Manners and respect, a common theme in school, continually rang in our ears, and were hammered into our brains at home. 'Yoh must always have manners and never be disrespectful to older people. Respect and manners is a passport that can take yoh through this world,' my parents would say. (Schrader 1989: 21)

Family ties reinforce cultural unity between islands. It is not unusual to have family from at least two of the three islands. This is most evident at Christmas time when serenaders go from house to house visiting family and friends, bringing cheer with the "Guavaberry Song." Today they travel on safari busses through St. Thomas and St. John, and last year they included St. Croix.

These cultural values currently face a new set of challenges. Virgin Islanders have historically struggled to control their destinies and define their own lifestyles, values and aspirations. Exertion of cultural control, even when enslaved, is represented to this day by such forms as cariso, calypso and storytelling, in foodways and the practice of "bush" or herbal medicine, in the traditional occupations of fishing, charcoal making and masonry. Currently, Virgin Islanders, as people throughout the United States, and indeed the world, face the challenges of mass popular culture, tourist culture, and the multiple cultures of new immigrants. How can Virgin Islanders appropriate and revitalize mass culture without falling into the tourist industry's definitions of native culture? To what cultural forms will the ongoing creative process of amalgamation between native and immigrant cultures give birth?

John Kuo Wei Tchen, in an address entitled "Race and Cultural Democracy," presented at the Smithsonian Institution's Martin Luther King Jr. celebration last year, addresses the pluralistic nature of American society. His observation that ethnic groups in the U.S. "have shared histories" and "interwoven identities" seems equally descriptive of communities on the three American Virgin Islands. These cultural identities, he continues, are both "constructed and multi-faceted."

The U.S. Virgin Islands Festival program thus not only presents the "interwoven identities" of the islands, but inescapably becomes part of the process of constructing them. The program has been researched and designed by scholars and community members of the three islands in collaboration with the curator and Office of Folklife Programs staff. Researchers have documented



Salvador Fragoza, Amador Felix, Nicolás Encarnación and Genaro Ortiz rehearse Puerto Rican jíbaro tunes in their backyard in St. Croix. (Photo by Daniel Sheehy)



In her yard in St. Croix, Mrs. Lucille Roberts cuts a sugarcane stalk for family and friends. (Photo by Mary Jane Soule)

traditions that have been maintained informally over time. These traditions are practiced in community settings such as favorite fishing coves in St. John, Frenchie Northside gardens of St. Thomas, or the Christmas parade of St. Croix; in intimate domestic settings and in work places; in markets and in dance halls.

Local researchers suggested an interesting strategy for interpreting traditions of the Virgin Islands to create a public program. This was to identify "cultural touchstones" or historical points of reference that are still useful in understanding the present. The big yard, the marketplace, and public celebration were selected as meaningful cultural touchstones to all three islands.

The big yard developed in urban neighborhoods of St. Thomas as shared area behind row houses where workers lived. The big yard was the setting for everyday activity, casual or planned meetings, storytelling under the tamarind tree, laundering, cooking, children's play, and gossiping. Although the St. Thomian big yard is not found as an urban space in St. Croix or in St. John, the concept of big yard can refer in general to a communal place for shared domestic activity on all three islands.

While the big yard shapes the private world of the home, the marketplace is at the crossroads of commerce where people sell and trade, throw words, preach, campaign and catch up on events of the day. Its values are public; its gestures and jests may be broad.

Socially inclusive and temporarily transforming, celebrations join domestic and public spaces and bring the islands together, whether it is carnival on St. Thomas, the Day of the Kings Festival on St. Croix, or Emancipation Day on St. John.

The big yard, the marketplace and celebration are contextualizing, interpretive devices that represent continuity in the folklife of the islands and that serve as backdrops for exploring contemporary cultural issues of concern to Virgin Islanders. In these discussions, as in

performances and demonstrations, multiple voices collaborate in telling stories their own way, in a dialogue with one another, with the public, and with the sometimes complex voices within.

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SUGGESTED LISTENING

Virgin Island Voices. Radio Program produced by Mary Jane Soule, 1989.

Zoop, Zoop, Zoop. Recording produced by Mary Jane Soule.

ROUNDING THE SEINE

Guy H. Benjamin

Guy H. Benjamin remembers growing up in East End in St. John in his Me and My Beloved Virgin St. John, U.S.A. Mr. Benjamin has had a long career as an educator. He began teaching immediately after graduating as the first St. Johnian from Charlotte Amalie High School in St. Thomas. He is now retired and lives in New York City in the winter and in St. John in the summer.

Every time I remember our boyhood days in East End, I still feel correct in saying that no other children had as much fun, joy, and happiness as we had.

Our community had just eleven families. My godfather owned a seine and a large boat to hold it. He would keep the boat ready, and whenever a school of fries (minnows) came into the bay, we would be looking out for the sweet carang [the cavally, a member of the jack family], the beautiful yellow tail snapper, and the fat blue runner (our native name, "hard nose"). They generally came one or two days after the fries.

If they were sweet head fries, they never had a chance to last too long near the shore. The men threw their nets over them and would have to ease them to the shore, so many would they cover at one time. Then they emptied the fries in their boxes. Everybody in the village would come to get a share. I could hardly wait to get home with them. My aunts would jump on the fries, take off the heads, and wash them. Meanwhile my grandmother gave me the mortar, with the black pepper, onions, and salt. This I had to pound until it was fine and mixed. Then my aunt would season the fries while the flour batter was being prepared. Many people then made roussayed (fried the fish with lard, butter, or salad oil). The fries were then placed in the batter and cooked. Ambrosia! The whole operation took 30 minutes combined, from sea to stomach. Nothing can be finer than to be eating batter from the sweet head fries. This year, Goldie (Mrs. Golda Samuel) gave me some at Thanksgiving. Is it any wonder that I overate again?

In the meantime, the men were on the lookout for the fish. You heard the signal — Round Off! Everybody left the houses and headed for the beach, every little boy and girl, grandmothers, aunts, uncles, and cousins by the dozens.

All of us small boys were out in the water. We must keep the fish from coming to the ropes so we "beat water."

The men were out at the back, holding back the cork

that's attached to the seine. The women pulled the ropes to get the seine in as fast as possible before the fish got a chance to realize that they were a captive supper, lunch, or breakfast. And all of us naked boys got nearer to land, so that we soon would be pulling the seine.

We had the two arms in the surf. We had to let the fries out so we could see what we'd caught. A beauteous sight! The fish were going around in perfect circles, glistening silver and spotted gold. We had caught carang and yellow tails. There is no prettier sight any place than these beautiful dinners swimming around. I wondered if they knew their fate? Then my only thought was to help to get them on shore, which we did.

Now it was sharing time. First, they were all divided in two — one share for the owner, the other for the rest of us. No one was omitted, not even the landowner. Every child, woman, and man was given a share. When we caught the blue-eyed bonito, if each one could not get a whole one, then we sliced it in junks (chunks) and we all shared. If that were communal living, then we were the first Danish-American communists in the Virgin Islands.

This was the happy, glorious life we lived in East End, with our sea which provided us with natural health and life.

If my grandmother wanted a lobster for Sunday morning breakfast, she would say, "Guy, bring home a lobster with you tonight." I would go to my favorite rock and take out a lobster and bring it home. My aunts would cook it in a kerosene tin on the fire. I would eat the legs while it was cooking — so succulent and sweet.

We had lobsters like this, even after I returned to St. John to teach. Then Milton would say, "Benji, cook the raisin fungus [cornmeal dish] and I'm going for the lobsters."

In an hour, he'd be back with at least four. It would be a whole gang of hungry men and boys. But we'd have enough and some to spare.

Progress has taken away our lobsters. Today, we are paying \$20.00 for a three-pound lobster, and we must go far out in the ocean bed to dive for them.

FOLK ARCHITECTURE

Myron D. Jackson

Myron Jackson was born in St. Thomas and works for the U.S. Virgin Islands Department of Planning and Natural Resources, Division of Historic Preservation.

A barely surviving example of folk architecture, the wattle and daub house had its origins in Africa and proliferated in the Virgin Islands countryside. It is strong and durable, and some of the structures have survived hurricanes. Variations on the wattle and daub theme also can be found in other parts of the Caribbean, South America, Asia and Europe. Several examples are still standing on the island of St. John.

Building materials for this house were taken from the natural forest and surrounding areas. Tropical hardwoods and tyre palm leaves were selected and cut at times that coincided with particular phases of the moon. Craftsmen say working with the moon ensured that wood and palm leaves would not be eaten by insects.

Supporting poles usually were cut to a length of about seven feet and placed into the ground several feet apart. Smaller branches were woven through these supporting poles in a pattern similar to basketwork. Fresh cow dung, clay or a mixture of sand, lime and water was used to plaster the exterior of the structure. Sometimes a white lime wash would be used on the exterior. Roofs were usually of the hip or gable type, covered with grass or palm leaves. Tyre palm seems to have been the more favored material.

Mrs. Alice Daniels, 96, recalling life on the western end of St. Thomas, tells of how the country people came together to assist one another in building homes. Most of the actual construction was done by men, while women gathered palm leaves and did other work. Women often prepared dishes of hearty food to make the event a festive one. There would also be singing of folk and religious songs, gossiping and storytelling.

The houses were used primarily for sleeping and household storage. Cooking and other chores were done in the surrounding yard, in which many families also maintained gardens and kept animals. This was a lifestyle typical of many Afro-Caribbean people.

Few Virgin Islanders today remember this type of house construction, but on St. John surviving examples of the wattle and daub house were in use up to recent times. Several families in the Coral Bay area have retained the houses, and other examples can be found on old plantations and estates on the island. One family patriarch, Mr. Winfield James, who was 92 years old

when interviewed, spoke of several structures he had built on St. John.

FOLK COTTAGES

Wood frame West Indian houses are a folk form that can be found in a number of variations in the Virgin Islands. Houses of this type are visible throughout the three major towns — Charlotte Amalie, Christiansted and Fredriksted.

Charlotte Amalie is the oldest of the towns on St. Thomas. Many wooden structures can be found on the east and west sides of its commercial district. Within the areas defined by the structures are historic neighborhoods of working class citizens. The Savanne district is the oldest community on St. Thomas. Established in the mid 1700s for the large number of free Blacks in the then Danish West Indies, the area was also reserved for a large number of Sephardic Jews who came to the Caribbean to escape the Spanish Inquisition and other religious persecution.

Structures were built facing the street and were restricted by the size of their lots, which could be either purchased or leased. Many houses were constructed on a masonry foundation of local materials and imported European bricks, which were brought on sailing ships as ballast. Plaster finishes were done with a lime mortar, which was prepared by burning cut coral stones in a kiln to produce a lime powder. This powder was turned to mortar by mixing it with beach sand, water and sometimes molasses.

Local tropical hardwoods were sometimes used, but for the most part, imported pitch pine was the favored material for the skeleton of the structure atop the masonry foundation. Cypress shingle or shipboard siding was used for exterior sheeting.

For the construction of roofs, craftsmen chose either thatch, shingle, tile or, later, galvanized sheeting. In wooden folk cottages, the roof took one of the three basic styles — gable, hip or shed. The hip roof was the type most commonly found in the Danish West Indies. Its form can be traced to both Africa and Europe. This roof shape, usually constructed with steep pitches, has several advantages. In Europe the hip roof design was used to prevent large accumulations of snow on rooftops. In Africa it allowed quick drainage of rain from the thatch roof. In tropical architecture, its high ceilings



Weathered by years of hurricane seasons, an abandoned wattle and daub house still stands in St. John, its basketwork structure exposed by the elements. (Photo by Fred Nahwookoy)

allowed hot air to rise. This feature, in addition to the cross ventilation from windows and doors, enabled the structures to remain cool during the hot summer months. The durability of hip roofs was evident after the devastation of hurricane Hugo in September 1989. The four sloping sides of the hip roof present minimal resistance to the wind, allowing it to blow over and around the roof structure. As an added safety feature, craftsmen would build the roofs of galleries separate from that of the main structure. This would ensure that when a storm tore off the roof of a more exposed and vulnerable gallery, the roof of the main house would not go with it.

Wooden doors and shutters were simply detailed and gave protection from the elements. These had simple metal hinges and were fastened from the inside by means of a wooden bar cradled by metal brackets. Interior wooden jalousies allowed privacy and ventilation. Metal fittings were usually forged by local blacksmiths. Galleries were not very common with the smallest, older frame cottages. However, one would always find decorative trim attached.

On the island of St. Croix one can find an assortment of decorative trim. Frederiksted is known for its gingerbread, an impressive decorative feature. Gingerbread refers to the strips of ornately carved designs used along the roof ledge and balconies, which give the effect of lace trim.

In 1878 Frederiksted was virtually burnt to the ground during the "Fire Burn" carried out by Africans who wanted an end to slavery. Although emancipation had been granted in 1848, Crucians were still under the yoke of the White planters who continued to exploit them. During the period of reconstruction of the town, many former slaves acquired property and moved in from neighboring estates. Wood houses became very popular.

During this era of the Industrial Revolution, mass production and modern transportation brought greater wealth to an ever-increasing number of people in the United States and Europe. This accumulation resulted in a steady growth of the middle class and a proliferation of its style of opulence. The style was imitated by local land and property owners who adapted published patterns to suit their own taste and homegrown aesthetic.

In European architecture, Victorian Gothic and Italian Villa themes were in vogue. *Nouveau riches* in the Americas seized and embellished these styles using wood as their principal building material. The actual construction techniques of the wooden frame cottages on all three islands were similar, although the construction terminology sometimes differed from island to island.

This method of construction continued up to the mid 1930s. The introduction of American cut-and-nail techniques eventually replaced the practice of mortise and tenon construction. The old method, however, can still be found in neighboring islands.

Most of the structures in the Virgin Islands were designed and constructed by skilled, local carpenters who passed their techniques from one generation to the next by oral tradition. They took pride in their creations, and they built three beautiful towns. Their work represents a fusion of European and African contributions.

Today many of our wooden structures are on the verge of collapse. It is incumbent on us to restore and to preserve for future generations this architectural heritage, which represents a history of people's lives and the times they lived in. Homes built by Afro-Caribbean people are now primarily of concrete. Introduced into the islands in the early 1900s, this type of structure represents a new era in Caribbean architecture. But my question is, at what cost? As we see the wooden frame cottage disappear from our countryside, towns and neighborhoods, they are being replaced with foreign and insensitive reinforced concrete and steel frame monsters. One can't help but feel a sense of displacement, though others see in these developments a sign of progress, of our entrance into modern times.

The new structures also speak of our changing relationship with the land. As we house our people in high-rise, multi-level complexes, we radically alter their relationship with the environment and with a way of life that involved direct contact with the earth. The consequences are grave. We can change our way of living, but only so much before we, ourselves, become displaced. Our historic towns and neighborhoods provide us a sense of regional identity and represent our inherited cultural legacy. We are one with the tradition.



Neighbors construct a thatched roof hut in St. Thomas in the 19th century. (Photo courtesy the Virgin Islands Department of Planning and Natural Resources)

SAVANNE

Ruth M. Moolenaar

Ruth Moolenaar is a retired educator and coordinator of the 1973 Project Introspection for the U.S. Virgin Islands Department of Education.

A HISTORICAL PERSPECTIVE

The port town of Charlotte Amalie on St. Thomas was founded to serve the needs of early Danish traders and planters. Savanne, or Savan, the northwestern subdivision of Charlotte Amalie, was established to provide housing for an increasing number of manumitted slaves or "free coloureds," as they were called. This group, having gained their freedom by direct purchase or by baptism, left the rural estates on which they worked and lived and moved to the town. Although legally free, they were treated as an inferior class and were subjected to rigid restrictions. As reported in *Emancipation in the Danish West Indies, Eye Witness Accounts II*, by Eva Lawaetz, "the free colored were banned from certain punishment for certain offenses. In addition, they had to always have on their person a FRIBREV (Letter of Freedom) to prove they were not slaves." In the mid 1700s Governor General Peter Von Scholten passed several laws to protect the rights of the free coloureds. Unfortunately, many of the freed Blacks were never apprised of their rights. So large was their number in St. Thomas that it was agreed to sell lots in the Savanne area to facilitate their needs. Thus, the neighborhood was established around 1764-65.

The character of the neighborhood was evidenced by the construction of its houses. In contrast to the masonry, European-styled buildings and homes of the commercial district, houses of Savanne were small wooden frames covered with shingles. Described by some architects as vernacular row, the prevailing design was a long row of contiguous houses that formed an L- or U-shaped structure. Others were individual houses of the same wooden frames but having a small balcony. Built a few feet above the ground these elevated homes were reached by wooden or masonry steps. Under the raised houses children found safe havens for play, and nesting hens used these shaded areas as good hiding places for their eggs. One long, winding road ran through the center of the neighborhood.

ECONOMY OF THE AREA

There was no alternative in Savanne to the trading

and other businesses of the commercial district. The people of Savanne were obligated to leave their neighborhood to seek employment. Many women and a few men were engaged in "carrying coal," a job that involved carrying huge baskets of bituminous coal on their heads up the planks of ships calling on St. Thomas. Coal was used as fuel by the ships. Working from mid-day into the wee hours of the next morning, coal workers were paid with tallies which, when redeemed, netted two or three cents per basket.

Another source of employment for women was laundry, which involved washing uniforms worn by gendarmes and other uniformed officers. The uniforms were made of heavy cotton like khaki, twill or denim, and when wet, the clothes exacted much energy from the women who did their work without modern machinery and detergents. They hand scrubbed the garments, slapped them on rocks, boiled them on an outdoor fire and finally bleached them dry in the sun. Ironing was almost as tedious a chore done with a charcoal fired "goose."

Some women earned a living as vendors in the Bungalow at Market Square, now called the Rothschild Francis Square, or as peddlers throughout the town. The Bungalow vendors were a distinctive group. Colorful in dress and spirited in temperament, they added a special flavor to the area. Each woman had her individual spot or table, which she guarded jealously. As a group they regulated prices and conformed to unwritten norms as they bargained their wares of fresh fruits, vegetables, herbs, spices, food and drinks.

Men earned their living as cargo men, common laborers, janitors, or fishermen. Skilled workers emerged years later from this group. These artisans exercised great influence in the community. Operating small trade shops within and outside the area, they satisfied the community's needs in such areas as cabinet making, furniture repair, masonry, joinery, brick laying, barbering, dressmaking, needleworking, and cooking.

SOCIAL SERVICES

Before local government provided social services for

the needy, fraternal organizations played an important role in furnishing these services for the Savaneros. These institutions, in addition to providing financial assistance in time of need, supplied counseling and other services. Two such fraternal organizations in Savanne were the United Bretheren of the St. Joseph Association and the Beloved Sisters of Mary and Joseph. The Harmonic Lodge and the Old Unity Lodge were also popular among Savaneros even though they were located outside the boundaries of Savanne.

ENTERTAINMENT

Unlike the courtyards of the commercial district, which served as extended work areas or as stables of wealthy merchants, the Big Yards of Savanne were for entertainment and informal, traditional education. These wide open spaces bordering the long row houses were identified by landlord's name or by location. There were the Lockhart's Big Yard, Richard's Big Yard and the Sealey Big Yard. Three popular yards outside of the Savanne area were Ross's Yard, Buck Hole, and Barracks Yard. On moonlight nights families gathered to share stories, jokes, gossip, and family events; they recited poems, danced and sang in the Big Yards. Daytime activities were also plentiful. The people of Savanne also frequented two popular dance halls, Jubilee Hall and Dilley Hall. Additionally, the fraternal lodges were available for social affairs.

POLITICAL LIFE

Since Savanne was one of the most densely populated areas on the island, it attracted the attention of politicians, who stumped the area at election time wooing voters. In the 1940s and later, the strength of a political party or its candidates hinged on support from Savanne. The old Banaba Well, a popular landmark formerly used as a water source, became the rostrum from which political candidates delivered fiery speeches. After these performances people gathered at nearby "Eva Grants Corner" for drinks and conversation. Middle-class and wealthy political candidates were sometimes viewed ironically by the Savaneros who were aware that their small homes and their food and drink would ordinarily be scorned by these candidates outside of an election year.

Several leaders were elected from Savanne. These individuals fought tenaciously for improved wage laws, improved roads, better health facilities and most importantly, for job opportunities. Today, people with their roots in Savanne can be counted among the society's list of legislators, doctors, lawyers, civic and religious leaders and other professionals.

OTHER IMPACTS

From the 1930s education became high priority, and

graduation from high school was considered an outstanding milestone in one's life. Unlike parents in the commercial district, few Savaneros could send their children to the mainland or to Europe for higher education. Therefore, after high school graduation most young men and women worked for the Virgin Islands Government. Many of these individuals continued their education in the 1950s.

SAVANNE TODAY

Visible change in the area is reflected in the houses. Quite different from their predecessors, many homes are now two- and three-story concrete buildings. Glass and aluminum shutters have replaced wooden windows and doors. Several wooden homes with shingles remain, however, as testimonies to the early character of the area.

Unlike commercial Charlotte Amalie, few historic sites in Savanne remain to tell the community's history. One surviving site is the Jewish Cemetery, which served the group of Jews who fled from the island of St. Eustatius in 1781 after the attack of Sir Rodney on that island. These Jewish members of the community became ship owners, ship chandlers and brokers and participated in the slave trade. They became a vital part of the community and lived primarily in other urban areas, but they were buried in Savanne, on "Jode (from Judah) Street." Other street names in Savanne are Pile Strade, Vester Gade, Slagter Gade, Gamble Gade, Silke Gade, and Levkoi Strade.

Currently Savanne is home to immigrant populations from Puerto Rico, the Dominican Republic and the eastern islands. Blacks of Savanne earned a living in conditions resembling servitude while the Whites of the commercial district flourished financially from the bustling trade of the town and its harbor. The sociology of the two groups reflected this difference.

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TEA MEETING

Eulalie Rivera

The "Tea Meeting," a combination of variety show and church social, is usually held during the Christmas holiday season. It consists of a series of verbal performances introduced by a Chairman to a King, Queen and Princess, who preside in appropriate costume. At the event, speeches are pompous, often ridiculous and replete with outlandish diction and flamboyant ornamentation.

The Tea Meeting was introduced to St. Croix from Barbados. It probably developed out of fundraising church events. The name derives from an attempt by Methodists to substitute tea-drinking occasions for those in which alcoholic beverages predominated.

Older Crucians can still declaim parts of tea meeting speeches but because the organization of the event is very elaborate and time consuming, it is rarely celebrated today. Eulalie Rivera, educator and chronicler of Crucian traditions, recalls the tea meeting:

About the year 1934-35, I attended a Tea Meeting at the Auditorium of Diamond School. This is what I remember about the procedure of that Tea Meeting — a pattern similar to the one followed in all traditional tea meetings, including the ones still held today.

First of all, there were not many cars on the island, so most of the people came on foot or by horse and cart. The Tea Meeting began at about 6:00 p.m.

The Characters:

A Chairman

A King and Queen, representing British Royalty

A Philosopher

A Mathematician

A Socialist

A Physiologist

A Cook

A Bartender

The Meeting opened with the Chairman's announcement of readiness. Then everyone sang "God Bless Our Native Land."

The Chairman then saluted the King and Queen.

A Choir sang.

Then the Chairman called on whoever was at the top of the program, and this is the way it went:

"Mr. Physiologist, will you address us?"

"Master Chairman, I'm coming. I'm coming. Master Chairman, I'm coming." He starts walking from the back of the room. When he gets up to the front, he says:

"Master Chairman, I am coming as a human being. Master Chairman, I'm here to tell you tonight of our human body. Master Chairman, our human body is made up of flesh, blood, water and bones.

"Master Chairman, the human body has over 200 bones. Master Chairman, our two hands has over 50 bones."

He then names the bones of the body, the muscles and composition of the blood.

The Choir then sings a song or two, and the Chairman again salutes the King and Queen.

He then calls on the Mathematician, who proceeds from the back of the room onto the stage, with a square, a rule, and a protractor in his hand. As he approaches the stage, he chants:

"Mr. Chairman, I'm coming. I am coming. Mr. Chairman. I'm coming like the days of the week which we know now to be seven."

Reaching the stage, he continues:

"Mr. Chairman, it was not always so, as I will explain in my address.

"Mr. Chairman, as the ocean moves in currents of seven, so I'm coming in seven more steps. Mr. Chairman, I've come as the ocean current moves — in six small waves and one big one to make it seven."

He salutes the King and Queen, then turns to the audience:

"Ladies and Gentlemen, I begin my lesson with the unit of things. I'll talk about abstract things. I'll talk about concrete things. I'll talk about symbols.

"Gentlemen and Ladies, I'll show these ten fingers, I also have ten toes. Ladies and Gentlemen, the number ten then represents the base of all mathematical procedure. Ladies and Gentlemen, the art of expressing numbers by symbols is called notation, and the art of expressing them in words is called numeration."

He would then go on to lecture for quite a while.

The Chairman next calls for Mr. Philosopher, who also approaches from the back of the room, saying:

"I'm coming, Master Chairman. I'm coming as the Philosopher who said, 'Wise men learn more from fools than fools learn from wise men.' Yes, Mr. Chairman, I

am here to show you some wisdom from the Philosophers."

In this way Tea Meeting would progress until about midnight, with many speeches on a variety of subjects, interspersed with songs by the Choir.

At the midnight intermission everyone was served tea and a sandwich, usually homemade bread or johnny cake with a slice of ham — real, home-cured pork which the members cooked a day or two before Tea Meeting.

As the meeting came to an end, a specially costumed group of dancers would perform an exhibition dance called "Lancers."

The Tea Meeting was over after everyone had joined in singing the hymn, "God Be With You Till We Meet Again." But there was often a band of the kind that's called a "scratch band" today, but was known then as a "fungi band," and it would strike up a popular dance tune and everyone who had been at the Tea Meeting would troop up the road, sometimes to Grove or to Bethlehem.

Tea Meeting was an event usually held about twice a year. It was an occasion in which the whole community participated and it was the highlight of our social year.

For each load of coal, a worker for the West India Coal Company received a brass tally worth two cents. (Courtesy the Fort Christian Museum, St. Thomas)



COAL CARRIERS

Arona Peterson

Arona Peterson is a well-known St. Thomas author, newspaper columnist and chronicler of island culture. She has written about island stories, proverbs and traditional foods and herb uses.

The following poem and notes are excerpts from her most recent book, Food and Folklore of the Virgin Islands.

Faces so blackened
Only White of eyes clear
Flour bag shirts and pants
Once bright colored dresses now
Faded after many washings
Tally bags filled with tallies
Swinging and swaying
With movement of hips
Making sweet music.

Not a troupe of Zulus
Out of merriment
But men and women
On their way home
Sweaty, bone weary
After a day of carrying
Hundred pound baskets
Of coal on their heads
Heavy baskets unloaded
They talk and laugh
In tune with jingling tallies
In pockets and tally bags
Making sweet music.

A familiar scene in bygone days — Coal carriers. By no means the best or easiest way to earn a living, but between a rock and hard place and children to feed, no choice.

The men and women who made the choice may not have been on any rung of the social ladder but they were not incumbents either. They gave much more than they received but with satisfaction that every penny (or tally)

was justly earned.

No two ways about it, that was hard rough work, but whatever the people that carried those baskets were made of, is not used for making people anymore, at least not in these parts.

Spines and connecting links of necks are made of plastic, buckle under slightest pressure in these days, the days of the joggers with nothing on their heads.

For all the hard work bodies were kept in good shape, even with the load off their heads they walked as if they were carrying the heavy baskets, heads held high, chests way up, backs straight as a pin. Whatever they did, they must have been doing it right, for they seldom needed doctor's care. They drank maubi [ale-like drink] by the gallons to keep the lungs clear, and took frequent bush [herb] baths to keep the pores open so they could perspire freely.

When dressed for church, weddings, funerals or any dressing up occasion there was much lace and embroidery under those dresses as any other lady from a different walk in life.

The language was strong but reserved for the dock, seldom ever on the street and never on Sunday. Even if provoked they'd say if today wasn't Sunday I'd give the length of my tongue but wait till I ketch you tomorrow.



In the early 20th century, Virgin Islands coal carriers load coal aboard a visiting ship anchored at the harbor when St. Thomas was one of the busiest ports in the Caribbean. A collage of photographs from the souvenir pamphlet St. Thomas and the Virgin Islands, I. S.A., compiled and published by the St. Thomas Bureau of Information, 1919 (Photo courtesy the Von Scholten Collection, Fred Bat Public Library and Archives, St. Thomas, Virgin Islands)

ABOUT MAN BETTA MAN, FISSION AND FUSION, AND CREOLE, CALYPSO AND CULTURAL SURVIVAL IN THE VIRGIN ISLANDS

Gilbert A. Sprauve

Dr. Gilbert Sprauve is a Dutch and English creole scholar and Professor of Modern Languages at the University of the Virgin Islands. He received his Ph.D. in linguistics from Princeton University.

Here and there, scattered over the thin topsoil of these mountaintops in the Caribbean Sea that we call the Virgin Islands is a thistly weed known to locals by the name "Man Betta Man."¹ Its name is a riddle to all, one that is mirrored in the sharp contrast between the limited land mass that geographically defines the Virgin Islands and the cultural complexity and diversity characteristic of the Islands' historical and current population.

A key to unravelling the Islands' rich cultural flux and variety is the perspective compounded of linguistic and sociological sciences. Thus the major cultural groupings are to a large extent subsumable under the rubric "sociolinguistic sectors." Approaching the society in this way provides a clear cultural perspective on the complex and creative ways the following sectors of the population interact, communicate and compete with each other in relatively peaceful and harmonious settings:

1. Crucians
2. St. Thomians St. Johnians
3. British Virgin Islanders
4. French
5. Puerto Ricans
6. Kittitians Nevisians
7. Antiguans
8. Dominicans St. Lucians
9. Trinidadians
10. American Blacks
11. American Whites

12. Arabs
13. Indians
14. Haitians
15. Dominicans from the Dominican Republic

The sociolinguistic approach taken here is useful in understanding the forces that bind together the society of these islands, themselves microcosms at once of the ethnically mixed Greater West Indies and of the United States melting pot. The author admits to a predilection for an approach defined less by conflict among the various groups and more by the cultural wealth which attends diversity and which, to some extent, is the by-product of intense economic exploitation and adversity. He, moreover, fully recognizes the validity of a strictly sociological survey of the same community informed by surface conflictual indices, one that could effectively reduce the groupings to "Blacks," "Whites" and "Others" or "Natives," "Aliens" and "Others," consistent with antagonisms still present in our islands.

Cultural divisions also can be marked by conflict. This may be heard in the terms utilized for other-group identification in conflictual — and quasi conflictual, that is, festive — settings. These include "cha-cha" for Virgin Islands French folk, "garrot" for folk from the Eastern Caribbean islands and "tomian" for St. Thomians. "Crucian" for St. Croix natives and "tolian" for Tortolians carry no significant negative or conflictual charge. "Pappa" and "mamma" are used frequently to refer to Puerto Ricans in the Virgin Islands, as "johnny" is to refer to Arabs.

¹ ed. note The words can also be a proverbial way of advising against excessive pride (or despair); there is always one man better, never a final best

If preservation of the Islands' rich cultural variety is on our list of priorities, then all sociolinguistic instruments marshalled to serve that variety deserve our attention, from lyrics of our calypsos to folk stories told in West Indian Creole. For the survival and persistence of the consciousness that we call "Virgin Islands culture" is by no means a trivial historical matter. To understand the workings of the engine that drives this consciousness we must first glance back at the economic and political forces that came to bear on these islands during the past half century.

The most dramatic expansion ever in the Virgin Islands economy began in the late fifties and early sixties of the present century; it is still in progress today, much to the dismay of a wide cross-section of our populace. Some historians date the groundwork for this boom to the years of the Second World War. Almost overnight these islands came under intense pressures to be the showcase par excellence of unchecked capital development and exponential commercial expansion. (Weren't we, after all, an American territory operating in the free enterprise system? And weren't the islands unsurpassed in natural beauty, the ultimate commodity for wealthy and adventurous visitors and investors?) When we consider these pressures from the outside, combined with local leaders' self-consciousness about poverty and their naive vulnerability to grandiose schemes of wealth for all, then we can comprehend why suddenly the doors were thrown open and the forces of development unleashed.

This kind of accelerated development everywhere hinges on the availability of cheap labor. The Virgin Islands were no exception. But Virgin Islanders were also coming into their fuller rights as United States citizens' subjects; this meant that, although their wages did not enjoy full equity with those of United States citizens on the mainland, they were still a decent cut above those of our fellow West Indians on our neighboring islands. The ambitious Virgin Islander who felt hemmed in by inadequate wages at home routinely pulled stakes and travelled to "The Big City" — usually New York — to make his fortune. The ambitious West Indian, analogously stymied by low wages on his home island, was all too ready to fill the order when developers from the Virgin Islands — latter day raiders — arrived on their shores in pursuit of able-bodied laborers for Virgin Islands industry and construction.

Thus was set in motion a new version of the famous triangular trade, this one involving the United States, the Virgin Islands and other islands in the Caribbean. The Virgin Islands were the hub of this trade, rather than simply one corner, so the analogy with triangular patterns is perhaps imperfect. But in effect the three part trade worked as follows. From the brow of an underpaid labor force transported to and toiling in the Virgin Islands, substantial revenues in the form of greenbacks

would find their way back into the treasuries of the labor-producing islands. This hard earned U.S. currency now deposited in the treasuries of our neighboring islands in the Eastern Caribbean translated into a caring posture for the United States vis-à-vis this potentially turbulent region.

It must be tempting for the architects of Virgin Islands modern style development to congratulate themselves for the apparent success of their project and its far-flung ramifications for regional "stability." The truth of the matter is this economic success story is also a blueprint for cultural fission and disintegration. It fosters unfathomable levels of cynicism, divisiveness and distrust within the populace.

ENTER CREOLE, CALYPSO AND CARNIVAL!

One or another of the creoles (whether Dutch-English- French- or Spanish-associated) is recognized as the folk language on practically every island of the Eastern Caribbean and Virgin Islands. The grammar and the lexicological strategies of each creole generally differs in only minor ways from the others. Sociologically speaking, creoles throughout the region are despised and their use discouraged by educators and all custodians of "higher culture." Yet it would appear that the more resolute the program to eradicate a creole, the more persistent the language has grown as the instrument of folk expression.

Beyond its use in unguarded, informal conversation, Creole plays a very important ceremonial — and even communal — role throughout the Caribbean. It is the medium for lyrics of calypso, the West Indian musical phenomenon that at once energizes our *fêtes* with pulsating rhythms and seduces our intellect with potent political, social and historical commentary. Although Virgin Islanders, like other West Indians, are flexible enough linguistically to function reasonably well in standard varieties of English, all our calypsos are sung in Creole. The inaccessibility of this code to newcomers, to the press and to the cadre of largely imported or alienated managerial staff makes room for transient satire — and sometimes outright ridicule — of those who run things.

And herein lies one of the more gratuitous ironies of the Virgin Islands as the American Paradise. It is the transplanted Eastern Caribbean calypsonians, expanding the poetic energy of their own particular creole dialects, who have revitalized calypso in the Virgin Islands. Perhaps in response to the harsher socioeconomic landscape of their homelands, they lend themselves heartily to expressing the underclass's frustrations and cynicism. They make their mark with lyrics that strike at the heart of the system's dual standards. Often the tourist does well to simply jump up in the

crowd and turn a deaf ear to lyrics that, in any case, would not only mystify him linguistically but assail him morally.

In this region, to discuss calypso is to evoke Carnival. Carnival is described as the season when everybody comes together as one. Families are reunited as members return home from hundreds and thousands of miles away. Carnival is advertised as two days of giant parades, pageantry in which the Islands' romanticists and realists compete for center stage — Main Street from one end of town to the other. Fantastic costumes abound; social parody is plentiful. And Carnival is the World Series of Calypso, replete with a junior series for the up and coming generation of Caribbean troubadours. Here they compete for the title of King or Queen of Calypso before appreciative but wise and discriminating audiences. Carnival is also the season when political aspirants traditionally announce their plans for upcoming elections. Carnival speaks volumes about social organization and cultural identity and political posturing in the Virgin Islands.

From the vantage point of our approach founded on "sociolinguistic sectors," the unity of Carnival can be seen to be mediated by several social realities. St. Thomians and St. Johnnians accept Tortolians and British Virgin Islanders as kinfolk; regular commerce with the British Virgin Islands and waves of migrations from them have gone on uninterrupted since Europeans

settled these islands. On the other hand, when Crucians discuss their past and their cultural traditions they pay homage to ancestors, including relatively recent ones, whose place of birth was on one of the Eastern Caribbean islands such as Antigua, Barbados, Nevis or St. Kitts. Several mini carnivals or ethnic celebrations in our islands demonstrate this bidirectional orientation. British Virgin Islands/American Virgin Islands Day is primarily a St. Thomas and St. John fête, while Eastern Caribbean Day is celebrated on St. Croix. Dividing along similar lines, Fathers Day in St. Thomas — including boat races and a fishing tournament — toasts the contribution of the French settlers and their descendants; while on St. Croix, Puerto Rico/VI Friendship Day celebrates the presence of those who migrated from Vieques and Culebra to our shores.

A vigorous debate has been going on in the Virgin Islands about whether these festivals promote unity or disunity. But in each community the grand-daddy of the annual celebrations is clear: it is Carnival on St. Thomas and St. John, and Festival on St. Croix. All groups participate and compete in these events. Calypsonians flock to them from the Greater Caribbean to meet the challenge of feting and entertaining the Virgin Islands in all its cultural diversity. In this way, the fissures of rampant exploitation and its attendant cynicism are subjected to intense festive meltdown. And the culture prospers.

WERE THERE GIANTS?

Gilbert A. Sprauve

Yes, one!
WHO?
Tampo!

Sifting meticulously through recollections from his youth the writer was able to recall one man that enjoyed the status of "giant." "Enjoyed" is used rhetorically, for Tampo certainly did not solicit, much less abuse, any special dispensations that came with the distinction. He may in fact have been totally oblivious to them.

The writer next pondered the question of confirming the Tampo-the-Giant myth. Tracking down school-mates would be simple enough. It is a small, close-knit community. Just mention "Tampo," and jiggy, for one — our unofficial class historian — would recite the exact day when Miss Marcellus, after struggling with an

incredulous Kenny, who resolutely refused to swallow the meaning of the Lilliputian fairy tale for the better part of a class period, suddenly made him and the rest of the class understand by comparing Gulliver to... you know who!

But the writer decided on a different tactic. At the end of each interview done in preparation for the Smithsonian's Folklife Festival, he would ask his interlocutor to tell him what he or she knew of Tampo.

Fred (a fisherman): De story 'bout Tampo??

Interviewer: ... ain' got a bank out dey, dey call Tampo?

F: Not me!

F: I hear some St. John man talkin' 'bout Tampo Bank.

F: You know who dey call Tampo?

I: I know who dey call Tampo, but.

F: No, ah ain' talkin' 'bout da fellow... Ah talkin' 'bout a whale... a whale shark.

I: A whale shark de call Tampo?

F: Yes... yeh, being so big, no? An' ferocious-lookin'!

I: W'at it is: a whale of a shark??

F: A whaleshark. I was on he back, Man! Yo' don' believe me? Edouard Blanchard an' anodda fellow name... gimme a chance, ah goin' tell yo'... Battiste, a sixteen year ol' boy was also in de boat. Fourteen foot plywood boat. He had us up on he back fo' 'bout 20 minutes. An' he didn' want to do no'ting wid us. Mus' be scratchin' he back. Battiste had want us... take de oar an' stick him.

I: He actually get up under de boat?

F: He came up... like we was anchored here. He came up like dere an' went nort'... 'bout half de way over dere an' he turn straight sout', come straight under de boat an' w'en he get half o' heself under de boat he raise up an' he stop movin', yo' know. Jus' raise right up like a helicopter, raise up right outa de water. He was about dis height outa de water. But I wasn't scared because I know dey don' eat people, dey're not dangerous. W'at dere danger is, if you create it, if yo' hit dem wit' a oar and dey get frighten an' dey dump yo'.

I: 'Bout how long yo' say he was?

F: 'Bout 50 feet long, 'bout ten feet wide... We average him by de boat an' he was, ah believe, t'ree and a half times de lengt' o' de boat, maybe four times...

(from interview on 12 February
with Mr. Alfred Richardson)

I: Yo' remember a fellow in St. Thomas dey call Tampo?

J: Tampo is a big fellow. But wait, I hear he dead? Dere were two Tampo.

I: Yeh, tell me 'bout dem.

J: Dere were two. One had name Cyril. Dere's anodda one from To'tola. A set o' dem boy had fight him a time, down Buck Hole. Lawd, I know... I know de boy-dem

name. an' he take an' dey say dey is boxer, an' t'ing. He say: Come, come: in dis To'tola language, jus' lemme ge me hean' on him. He had about two o' dem under dis foot an' dey couldn' move... squeezin' dem. An' dey say dey boxin'. An' he only makin' so, grabbin' dem. 'Bout some four, live o' dem. But Tampo was too much fo' dem. Das de one!

(from interview on 18 February
with Mr. Jospheus Williams)

I: Yo' know a fellow... firs' yo ever hear of a place call Tampo?

H: A place yo' call Tampo, yo' say?

I: Yo' ever hear any o' de fisherman o' any'ting talkin' 'bout a place dey call Tampo?

H: ... No, no, no.

I: But yo' know a man... dey name, dey call Tampo?

H: Here? I know a guy w'a we call Tampo. De one fellow w'a I know...

I: W'a yo' remember 'bout Tampo?

H: Yeh, but he wasn't a fisherman.

I: No, I jus' want to know w'a yo' remember 'bout him.

H: ... 'bout a fellow name Tampo? Well, Tampo is... he *was* a very strong man. De one dat I know.

I: De same one.

H: An' he got a bad leg. An' I went down to he coal pit. Down at Mr. Newton, back dere. An' I find Tampo: he had two half bag o' coal on he head, one straight an' de odda one cross, an' he still had two under he arm, comin' wid dis piece o' foot.

I: Even wid de bad foot, yo' tellin' me?

H: Wid de bad foot! I say: 'Well, Jesus Christ! W'a dis man doin'? An' Tampo dere comin' t'rough de stone... de place dere, no'ting couldn' run. Tampo was dere even wid he bad foot. If somebody had tell me dat, I woulda say 'No!' But w'en I firs' know Tampo he was a prayer meetin' man. He had a nice voice an' ting!

(from 27 February interview
with Mr. Humphrey Hermon)

TRADITION AND CULTURAL IDENTITY IN SENEGAL

Diana Baird N'Diaye

INTRODUCTION

In Senegal these are the words to a well-known lullaby in the Wolof language:

Father Malamine, religious teacher (*marabout*),
Write me a talisman.
Talismans are not easy to find in Saloum
For Saloum has just two rooms.

The third room is only a kitchen.
And that kitchen belongs to the king.
That king is the King of Saloum.
Ayo Ayo,
Ayo Baby,
Little Baby.

Like many English nursery rhymes, the song is a coded way of talking about events and issues that could not be openly discussed. The words of the song refer to the 14th century, when the kingdom of Saloum in Senegal was divided into two warring factions (the two rooms) — converts to the newly introduced religion of Islam and adherents of the traditional Wolof religion. The “kitchen” mentioned in the song symbolizes the wives of the king — particularly his fifth wife, an older woman captured in war. She retained her belief in the Wolof religion, and so did King Saloum. The words of this Wolof lullaby refer to events, heros, customs, beliefs and social structures that existed five centuries ago.

They mark a particular moment in Senegal's long

history of kingdoms, empires, long-distance trade, and continuous cultural contact. The influence of these institutions is still to be found in the multilayered and multifaceted cultures that exist in Senegal today.

Visitors to the Senegal program at the Festival of American Folklife have an opportunity to experience some aspects of the traditional folk cultures of Senegal and to learn the way they shape and express cultural identities in this complex African society. Cultural identities embodied in personal presentation and other forms of expressive culture will be explored through crafts, music, narrative, dance, and foodways traditions performed in domestic, occupational and festive contexts.

Senegal's contribution to the culture of the Americas will also be featured. Visitors to the program may find that presentations by Senegalese Festival participants challenge their preconceived notions about African cultures, societies and forms of traditional artistic expression. The social complexity of Senegalese society, the importance of history in everyday life, the legacy of nine centuries of empire, the impact of Islam, and the relationship of aesthetics and morality are all visible through the lens of traditional folklife.



Topography and Ethnic Groups of Senegal. (Adapted from Thiām, Mangane and Saw. Géographie du Sénégal 1989 edition. Dakar: Nouvelles Editions Africaines.)

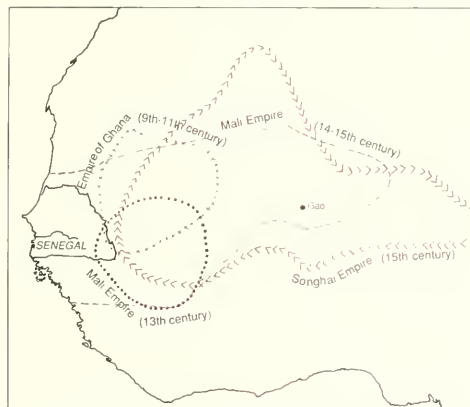
GEOGRAPHY

Located at the western most tip of the African continent, bordered by the Atlantic Ocean, Senegal is the closest point of contact between Africa and the Americas. Its geographic position and its many rivers

The Senegal program has been made possible, in part, by the President of the Republic of Senegal, Abdou Diouf, the Office of the President, the Ministry of Culture and Communication, the Ministry of Tourism and Environment, the Senegalese Embassy to the United States, the American Embassy to Senegal, the American Cultural Center in Senegal, Cheikh Anta Diop - Institut Fondamental de l'Afrique Noire, and administrative authorities in Dakar and in the various regions of Senegal.

made Senegal an important point of entry, departure and contact for the Wolof, Lebou, Serer, Toucouleur, Soninke, Peul, Diola, Manding, Balante and Bassari who call Senegal home as well as for peoples from other parts of Africa and from Europe, Asia, and the Americas.

For a little more than half of its width from west to east, Senegal is divided into upper and lower regions by the Republic of Gambia, an elongated enclave following and sheathing the River Gambia. The country of



The territory that is now Senegal was at various times within the domains of the West African empires of Ghana, Mali and Songhay. The impact of these locally based kingdoms still resonates in Senegalese culture and society today. (Adapted from Thioum and N'Diaye Histoire du Senegal et de L'Afrique, 1976 edition. Dakar Les Nouvelles Editions Africaines)

Senegal is virtually one vast plain, with the exception of a few short hills in the extreme southeast and on the Cape Verde peninsula near the capital city of Dakar on the coastline. It is bordered by the salt waters of the Atlantic and interlaced by the fresh waters of its many rivers. Wide differences in rainfall have contributed to a range of environmental zones from advancing desert in the north, to sandy savannah in the country's mid-section, to fertile forests in the south. Different languages and cultural groups live within this climatic and geographic variety.

HISTORY

Migrations, invasions, the dominions of African empires (Ghana, Mali, Songhay), conquests (Wolof, Portuguese, French), long distance trade and widespread religious conversions to Islam have all contributed to Senegal's complex history as a nation. The quest for commerce and for converts to Islam helped build the empires of Ghana, Mali, Songhai and the kingdoms of the Wolof people. The quest for long distance trade still motivates Senegalese who come to the United States. These far reaching political and economic structures shaped a unique cultural heritage, widely shared and

bearing the imprint of all the cultures that have interacted with one another on Senegalese soil.

The earliest records of Senegal's past, archeological sites in the central part of the Senegal river valley, testify to the existence of settled communities 6000 years ago. The rise and fall of kingdoms over the past 900 years is documented in part by epic poems composed and transmitted across the generations. They are eloquent records of Senegal's past and persist as rich and lively oral traditions in the languages of the Manding, Wolof, Serer, Toucouleur, Diola, and Soninke. Such oral and written texts attest, for instance, to a strong metalworking tradition that was already ancient by the 10th century. At that time, the empire of Ghana, known for its trade in gold, expanded its dominion from its capital Koumba-Saleh, in the territory of modern day Mali, to the state called Tekrou, which is now part of Senegal. Soninke blacksmiths living near the ancient site of Tekrou in the town of Bouki-Diawne trace their profession back to the Muslim prophet Daouda (David of Judeo-Christian tradition), whom they credit with the invention of metal tongs. They also credit Daouda as the recipient of mystically obtained knowledge about the properties of metals, the secrets of the forge and the appropriate uses of metals within a traditional context. Those skills and knowledge remain the birthright of these artisans today.

Prior to the 20th century, the boundaries that define modern Senegal included a wide variety of societies, from relatively egalitarian communities who lived by small scale agriculture, hunting and foraging, to highly structured monarchies and a succession of empires from the 10th century onward, based on long distance trade and agricultural surplus. The history of Senegal as a political and geographic unit is relatively recent, dating back only 150 years from the time when, under French



Senegalese reverse-glass paintings often illustrate historical events and personages. This popular image shows Lat Dior, one of the last Wolof rulers, who is celebrated for his valiant resistance against French colonizers. For nearly 40 years (1857-1896), Lat Dior Dhop and his trusted military chief, Sambalouche Fall, opposed French annexation of their kingdom, Cayor. Lat-Dior's horse, Mallaw, is remembered for its strength and speed. (Painting by Sall)

colonial administration, the present outlines of the country were established. The citizens of Senegal regained their self-governing status in 1960 and retained both political boundaries and a developing consciousness of themselves as Senegalese. The influence of these earlier social forms has been profound on the traditions that are part of the Senegalese way of life today.

THE PEOPLE

At first glance it might seem that performance traditions and cultural identities in Senegal might be organized along the lines of people who speak the same language, live in the same community, share a common history or ancestor and practice the same religion. However, visitors to the Festival's Senegal program are likely to encounter different traditions and beliefs presented by speakers of a common language and just as likely to hear different languages spoken in the presentation of similar styles of dance, music and crafts. These experiences indicate the complexity of the relationship between Senegal's ethnic identities and its folk traditions.

The simplistic notion of tribe can mislead understandings about Senegalese culture and identity. Individuals create their cultural identities within a complex social environment composed of groups defined by such things as kin relationships, religious belief, mutual assistance and economic production. In a book on Manding oral traditions, Donald Wright observes:

Holding together Mandinka [Manding], Serer, Wolof, and Fulbe [Peul] society and lending unity to the wider Senegambian social and cultural region were a tripartite social structure and strong kinship relations. Freeman, artisans, and captives were the three major class divisions throughout much of the Western Sudan... Uniting persons in different parts of the Senegambia, giving individuals the framework for their own identity, and providing a measure of the sense of unity that tied together the various ethnic groups was kinship...

Class and status seem to have played more important roles than ethnicity in the establishment of settlements, interpersonal relations and intermarriage. The only restriction on marriage seems clearly to have been one of class: a Mandinka freeman would only marry a "free" person from any ethnic group. Members of the different [ethnic] groups did intermarry on a wide scale, and this intermarriage and the subsequent mixture of ethnic groups seems to have been a key element in the development and long-term stability of political institutions in the area.

The Wolof people are the largest ethnic group in Senegal, representing well over a third of the nation's

population. As early settlers of the region and as builders of kingdoms (the Jolof, the Waalo, and the Cayor, from the 13th to the 19th century), the Wolof have given Senegal its most widely spoken language and have influenced many of the traditions practiced nationwide. Ubiquitous Senegalese traditions like *chieboudienne* (fish with rice), the *sabar* dance style, the *grand boubou* mode of dress are all of Wolof origin.

Although most Wolof are farmers, on-going traditions of long distance commerce account for the presence of Wolof street merchants in many African and North American cities including New York, Washington, D.C., and Atlanta. These farmer-merchants are called *Baol-Baol* after the general region from which many Wolof originate. They customarily would leave home during the period between harvest and the first planting to earn money in towns so they could purchase needed goods to send to their families back home. The Serer, like the Wolof, were among the earliest settlers of Senegal. The late Senegalese scholar, Cheikh Anta Diop concluded on the basis of linguistic studies that the Serer were an Egyptian people who migrated to their present base in the Sine and Saloum regions of Senegal. They have remained largely rural, supporting themselves by farming, fishing and cattle-raising. According to oral traditions, during the *jibads* (wars of religious conversion) of the 12th and 13th centuries they moved from the north of the country towards the south, to avoid forced conversion to Islam. Since that time, the Serer have lived mainly in the western mid-section of the country. They are the second largest ethnic group in Senegal, many of whom continue to practice locally-based sacred traditions.

The Toucouleur share common ancestry with the Peul who have traditionally roamed throughout West Africa, both as herders in search of grazing ground and as warriors. The Toucouleur broke away from the Peul to embrace Islam. They are the third largest group in the country. In contrast to the Serer and to the Peul, they are fervently orthodox in their practice of Islam. Toucouleur travelers to the Arab countries in North Africa were the first people in Senegal to adopt Islam. From the middle of the 13th century, they propagated this religion throughout Senegal through jihads, or holy wars. By the 14th century, their homeland in the eastern midlands of Senegal had become the seat of the Islamic empire of Tekrour. A close connection to the Islam of the Almoravids (warrior priests who traveled throughout the Mediterranean) can still be seen in the Arab influenced singing style of the Tidiane religious brotherhood, to which many Toucouleur belong.

Originally, the Peul were nomadic. They were herders who traded milk and milk products with farming communities for millet and other agricultural goods. In Senegal this group was spread throughout the eastern border region popularly known as the Fouta, and in the

southern part of Senegal popularly known as the Casamance near the frontier between Senegal and Guinea Bissau. Over time, contact with other ethnic groups influenced some Peul to settle and to practice agriculture. Most of these sedentary Peul are concentrated in the Casamance region. Peul, both nomadic and sedentary, have a characteristic love of cattle and a tradition of pre-Islamic religion.

Today most Manding are farmers living in the Casamance. During the 14th century, the first wave of Manding, also called Soce, arrived in Senegal as part of the expanding empire of Mali from the southeast. In the 19th century, a second migration of Manding people came to settle in the country as converts to Islam by El Hadj Omar, the warrior *marabout* (Islamic religious teacher counselor) of the Toucouleur. They are related to the Malinke in the Republic of Guinea, and to the Bambara in the Republic of Mali. They brought with them the 21-stringed instrument of troubadours called *kora*, the lute called *gambare* and the type of drum used in social and ceremonial dance throughout most of Senegal today. Similarities between Manding dance and music traditions and those of the Serer, Soninke (also called Sarakole) and the Diaxankes bear witness to the close relationship between these ethnic groups. Together, the Manding, Soninke, and Diaxanke make up eight percent of Senegal's population.

The Diola live in a number of communities related by language, history, forms of traditional artistic expression and shared traditions of government. The sixth largest ethnic group, they are among the only groups in Senegal to have retained ceremonies in which forest spirits are embodied in masks. They cultivate rice and harvest the products of the palm trees which grow abundantly in the Casamance. Diola communities located on river banks and the Atlantic coast also practice fishing as a way of life. Most groups in Senegal are stratified internally with ranked, inherited status groups based on family and occupation. But Diola social organization is based on egalitarian, small-scale, self-governing communities in which age and initiation are the major criteria for participating in religious ritual and community decision making. Ethnic groups closely related to the Diola are the Balante, Mandjak, and Mankangnes, who have similar traditions, artistic forms and livelihoods.

The Bassari, who live in the extreme southeast of the country, are among the smallest and least well-known of the ethnic groups of Senegal. Numbering about 10,000, they account for less than two percent of the nation's population. Because access is relatively difficult to the steep hills where they live, they have had less continuous contact with outsiders than other ethnic groups. They traditionally made their livelihood by hunting, gathering and farming.

Another small group, the Lebou, are a Wolof speak-

ing people of the Cape Verde region, which includes the capital city of Dakar. They are traditionally fishermen. Lebou oral historians trace their origins as a people from the intermarriage among Wolof, Serer and Manding fishing communities. Today, they share occupational traditions such as boat building styles and reverence for particular water spirits with the Niominka — fishing communities of rural-based Serer. Their dance and music traditions, however, are closer to Wolof styles.

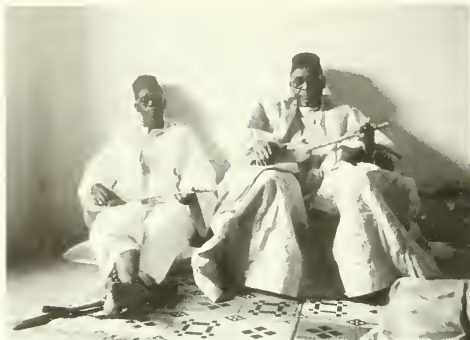
Senegalese have developed strategies for easing the stresses that occur when different people live together. Among them is "*cal*," the traditional joking relationships between ethnic groups. Similar joking traditions exist within families and between people with specific surnames. For example, the N'Diayes and the Diops jokingly call each other their slaves and accuse each other of being gluttons. The same playful accusations fly between the Peuls and Diolas and between specific family members in several ethnic groups.

A more serious unifying practice is Islam, introduced to Senegal in the 13th century through both voluntary conversion and jihad (holy war). The latter were conducted by the invading Almoravids and by decree of converted Senegalese monarchs. Ninety-five percent of the Senegalese population now define themselves as Muslim. In addition to practicing the "five pillars of Islam" required of all, Senegalese Muslims are likely to identify with one of the four major Islamic brotherhoods of the country: Tidiane, Quadrya, Mouride, or Layyen. The brotherhoods exist throughout Senegal, and within a single family, men and women may belong to any of the four brotherhoods. It is a matter of personal preference.

The religious brotherhoods exist within the Sufi (mystical) traditions of Islam. These religious practices include testimonials, preaching, call and response, chanting and group singing. They often resemble revival meetings held among African Americans. During the chants, believers experience a reaffirmation of their faith and sometimes become possessed by what they describe as the light of the Divine.

Coexisting with devotion to the word of Allah is respect for the power and the will of local spirit forces. Called *jinn*s in Islamic lore, these spirits inhabit and animate the land, the forest and the waters. Some of them are the continuing presence and influence of deceased ancestors on the world of the living.

Combined manifestations of the two systems of belief pervade the everyday lives of many Senegalese and inform language and other symbolic systems such as material culture and music and dance traditions. The technique of reverse glass painting, known as *fixes sous verre*, is used to illustrate both locally-based and Islamic mythology as well as scenes of traditional Senegalese life. The art form was imported from the Near East during the 19th century as tableaux for Islamic religious



Samba Diabare Samb and Amad N'Diaye Samb play the balafon, a traditional lute, to accompany their singing about the history of the Wolof people. Oral historians, musicians and praise singers to the powerful and wealthy, these griots — members of the occupational class of performers — continue to play an important role in contemporary Senegalese society. (Photo by El Hadj Malik M'Baye)

instruction. During the 1930s, 1940s, and 1950s, the narrative paintings by Senegalese artists became very popular in Senegalese households. Some are portraits of famous as well as ordinary people. Others represent events in the lives of local Muslim saints. The paintings also depict spirits from Senegalese cosmology.

HOW HISTORY INFORMS DAILY LIFE

The people of Senegal live with their history in very personal and meaningful ways. Whether they are born into a Wolof, Serer, Manding, Toucouleur, Soninke or Diola household, children still at their mothers' breasts begin to learn about the origins of their families, their names, their clans, and about the occupations and exploits of their ancestors. Wolof lullabies often tell portions of the baby's genealogy and sing praises for the infant's illustrious origins. In Senegal as in much of West Africa, knowledge about one's history is not merely fascinating information. It is part of the foundation on which one constructs his or her cultural identity.

Artistic speech, song and dance help situate individuals in a continuum of kinship links, past and present. For example, professional oral historians, *griots*, who can trace families back 13 generations, practice their art and knowledge in negotiating a marriage, naming a child and establishing birthright to a particular occupation or status. These griots, who may also be musicians, traditionally have been advisors, confidants and praise singers of the rich and powerful. Because of their recognized ability to affirm or damage an individual's social identity with their oratorical skill and detailed family knowledge, griots are both respected and feared by their patrons.

Often referred to by Senegalese as *caste*, a particular form of occupational and social class exists within the traditional social structures of the Wolof, Toucouleur,

Serer, and Manding ethnicities. Each of these classes is distinguished from the others by birthright to certain traditional knowledge, skills, and practices that are subject to restrictions or taboos recognized by the society as a whole. Within these ethnicities until very recently, the knowledge and skills required to produce textiles, perfumes, hairstyles, jewelry, and many forms of artistic performance were family or clan secrets zealously guarded by supernatural sanctions against transmission to outsiders.

For example, Khadydiatou Samassa is a Soninke resist dyer from Bouki-Diawe in the Fouta region of Senegal. She remembers when she was growing up that people who stole knowledge of resist-dyeing from her family and tried to practice it elsewhere were subject to supernatural curses. These made their hands swell when they touched the dye pots and thus prevented them from working. Among the Soninke people, the practice of resist-dyeing was historically restricted to the nobility, and the art continues to be passed down from older to younger generations within the same families. But in urban centers such as Senegal's capital city of



Children from the family of Manding griot, Kemo Diabate, come from a long line of distinguished kora players and oral historians. From an early age, they become familiar with their inherited profession by playing child sized versions of this many stringed musical instrument. (Photo by Diana Baird N'Diaye)



Diola festive occasions such as naming ceremonies, initiations and weddings include the dancing of bugar (Photo by Diana N'Diaye)

Dakar, these professions are now open to outsiders.

The craftsman who can claim membership in a family whose ancestors practiced their art for the royal courts is well respected. Certain family names, such as Cissokho, Diabaté, Kouyaté, and Konté are synonymous with playing the kora and the *balafon* and singing Manding epic poetry. From interviews with the Cissokho family, I learned that Bakary Cissokho's father made his son promise that every one of his 11 children would learn the kora. According to Bakary Cissokho, truly great talent was inherited by particular family members. This gift was identified early in life and nurtured and protected with charms and secret family rituals.

In contrast, among Diola and Bassari peoples, only gender, age, circumcision and marriage status qualify people to learn and participate in particular traditions. The practice of a wide variety of traditional crafts is open to anyone who meets criteria of gender and age; a single exception is knowledge of metalworking which is passed on through family lines.

THE PRACTICE OF IDENTITY

In Senegal individuals often use traditional arts of personal adornment, artistic performance and hospital-

ity to construct public presentations of themselves. Cultural values about personal beauty include behavior and movement as well as dress and personal adornment. Virtues such as personal integrity (*djom*), personal cleanliness (*set*), self-respect (*faida*), patience (*mout*) and generosity and graciousness in the treatment of guests (*teranga*) are taught to Senegalese children growing up in a traditional home. Virtually from the first few hours of a child's life until the time an elder attains the status of ancestor at burial, arts of adornment and speech help people learn and project these ideals. Grandmothers in Senegal massage and mold the heads of their grandchildren to encourage a beautiful form. While the child is still very young, stories and proverbs massage and mold the child's growing sense of his or her place in the world and of community aesthetics and morality.

Throughout Senegal, people now in their thirties and forties who grew up in the country can remember stories their grandparents told at night about the two Coumbas.



Collection J. Ben. Samuel - Rep. 1012
DAKAR - Fils d'un Chef

Senegalese tailors create elegant personal adornment for men as well as women. In this 19th century photograph, a Senegalese nobleman wears a richly embroidered robe called a grand bouhou, leather babouches (slippers) and a gris-gris (amulet) on a chain enclosed in a silver case. These articles are still very much a part of Senegalese formal dress today (Photo courtesy Ellhason collection, Smithsonian Institution National Museum of African Art)



These Wolof women at a traditional healing ceremony in Senegal exemplify the qualities of faida (self-respect) associated with the arts of personal adornment and carriage. The two women in the center of the photograph are using toothsticks (sotchi). Selected from aromatic trees, these sticks are handled publically with an elegance not unlike that of a 1930s screen actress wielding a cigarette holder. (Photo courtesy INTRASAHÉL)

In a Wolof version of the story, Coumba Am N'Deye (Coumba with a mother) and Coumba Amoul N'Deye (Coumba without a mother) are half-sisters. Although indulged by her mother, Coumba Am N'Deye is ultimately devoured by vultures because of her lazy, impatient and spoiled behavior. But Coumba Amoul N'Deye, despite the unjust treatment of her evil step-mother, gains great good fortune because she is courageous, polite, helpful and hard-working.

At the same time, some tales, such as the exploits of tricksters Bouki the Ilyena and Leuk the Hare, hint at tolerance and even admiration for those individuals audacious enough to break the rules and clever enough to achieve their goals in seemingly impossible circumstances.

Personal adornment is a primary means of individual expression. Aesthetic variety and innovation are characteristic features of Senegalese traditional arts of personal presentation. These traditions provide opportunities for highly valued personal and cultural statements. Good grooming in Senegal indicates a person who has self-respect and the expectation of the respect of others. Good grooming and cleanliness (*set*) are Muslim values as well since one is called five times a day to present oneself before God without physical impurity.

Performed arts — music, dance, and verbal arts including such genres as Malinke epic poems, Toucouleur lullabies, Serer wrestlers' chants, the use of proverbs, children's games, and the incantations and pronouncements of healers and diviners — also make highly valued statements about personal and cultural identity.

Performances construct identities in many ways and in many contexts. Some performances by professional artists honor or occasionally satirize an individual and his or her family. Other performances, like an individual's

gestures and comportments, announce his or her own identity to the community and the world. Senegalese express admiration for subtle and discreet displays of personal creativity within the framework of tradition, and in certain circumstances, a boastful chant is accepted and even applauded.

For instance, in the Sine and Saloum regions of Senegal, the performance of social identity is exemplified in the *lambe*, a wrestling tradition which originated with the Serer and which has become a tournament game associated with harvest celebrations all over Senegal. The object of the lambe contest is to force an opponent off balance so that his body touches the ground. Lambe competitions take place each year in the Sine region of Senegal in the months of January and February, the period following the harvest and prior to the first planting of the new year. At other times of the year, wrestlers farm and raise cattle as others do, but during the harvest celebration, each champion wrestler represents his village in bouts with the champions of other villages. The excitement surrounding the lambes can be compared to that of Americans during the World Series.

Before a match, each wrestler prepares himself with the help of his personal marabout who prescribes a detailed set of rituals, medicines and talismans to insure the wrestler's success. Then, in the midst of an entourage that can include hundreds of the wrestler's supporters, drummers, his marabouts and singers, the combatant proceeds to the village where the match is to be held. He announces and presents himself to the assembled crowds, dancing and reciting poetry that tells of his prowess. These poems suggest common roots of a tradition which includes the rap songs of young African Americans and the inventive, boastful rhymes of former world champion boxer Muhammed Ali.

Another arena of personal presentation is that defined by the formal reception of guests. It is not mere



Souley N'Diaye, a Serer wrestler takes on a fighting stance at a lambe tournament in the village of Samba Dia in the Sine region of Senegal. In his band he holds a talisman made of born. (Photo by A Lamine Drame)



Headlines of the front page of the Senegalese daily, *Le Soleil*, for February 9, 1990, announce articles that reflect contemporary interests: the lives of Senegalese vendors (modou-modou) in New York City; a recent lambic wrestling tournament and the nutritional value of black-eyed peas (niébé), a traditional part of the Senegalese diet (Courtesy Le Soleil)

coincidence that observations made by visitors to Senegal frequently concern the elegance of dress and movement of Senegalese women, the dignity of the Senegalese comportment and the warmth of Senegalese hospitality. Each ethnic group has elaborate traditions concerning the treatment of guests. In Senegal, the Wolof word *teranga*, "hospitality," is often invoked by Senegalese regardless of ethnic group to express pride in the complex of traditions for the proper treatment of strangers. *Teranga* includes both material generosity and generosity of spirit. The traditions of *teranga* — the preparation and presentation of food, attention to remembering and repeating names in greetings, alertness to the anticipated needs of a guest — are ultimately related to the aesthetics of the host's personal presentation. The ability to offer *teranga* is an important virtue which transcends ethnic and regional boundaries. Hospitality shown towards a visitor marks a host as being well brought up and of good character and good family background; a person of whom praises can be sung and whose family history is worth recounting. It is interesting to note that *teranga* has become an

element of advertising rhetoric used for nurturing a growing tourist industry. Hospitality in this sense is an issue which Senegalese are beginning to consider at a national level in pragmatic terms, weighing hard currency against cultural distortions.

SENEGALESE TRADITIONAL CULTURES IN INTERNATIONAL CONTEXT

Entering the apartment of Fatou and Mamadou Diouf, a model couple whom you might meet in New York City, Washington, D.C. or Atlanta, you are likely to find yourself surrounded by the sounds, smells and tastes of their old home in Senegal. As you stand in the lobby, you may hear voices speaking a mixture of Wolof and English. Walking through the doorway, you may be treated to the smell of incense created with ingredients brought from Senegal. You are sure to be greeted by men and women dressed in a variety of traditional styles from grand boubous — voluminous robes embellished with richly textured embroidery, — to *turkie* and *chaiya* — shirts and drawstring pants in resist-dyed cotton. On the VCR, you are likely to catch the performance of *halam* music or see the videotape record of a neighbor's naming ceremony held the week before in the building's community room. If you are lucky enough to be in Anta's home at mealtime, you will certainly be invited to partake in a meal of *chieboudienne* (fish with red rice) or *mafe* (ground nut stew) from a large, common tray and share in a ritual of tea drinking after the repast. Perhaps Fatou's younger sister will be visiting from Dakar and braiding the hair of a friend with the help of one of the Dioufs' older daughters. Mamadou may be preparing to attend the weekly meetings of his Islamic brotherhood on another floor in the same building.

The Dioufs feel a need to provide a home away from home, to create an environment that is congenial according to Senegalese ideas about what is beautiful and morally correct. Senegalese living in cities in the United States rearrange parts of an environment built according to American ideas. They provide appropriate settings for events such as meals, family rituals, the five daily prayers that are part of Islamic spiritual practice, and tea ceremonies. The Dioufs, like many other immigrants to the United States, enrich the American cultural landscape with their folkways — music, decorative art forms, foodways and other traditional expressions of identity.

Part of an earlier immigration, Africans kidnapped for slavery in the Americas also brought a cultural heritage with them across the Atlantic Ocean. Originating in the region of Senegal and neighboring countries of the Western Sudan, the animal tales of Hare and Hyena they brought with them were nurtured through many generations and can still be heard in the U.S. Virgin Islands, in Louisiana, and in the Carolina and



Senegalese artists and craftspeople who have come to the United States have found markets for their traditional forms. In the three photographs above (from left to right) Astou Adjé Thiam and Awa Bileye braid the hair of a customer in a New York beauty shop, a Senegalese tailor measures a client for a custom-made outfit, and a Senegalese metalworker by birthright displays his jewelry in an American shopping mall. (Photos by Martha Cooper, courtesy City Lore)

Georgia Sea Islands today. They form part of the contributions of Africa to the American continent.

Many other contributions by Senegambians to the cultures of the Americas have also been documented. They include the rice technology brought to the Carolinas during the 17th century, additions to the American vocabulary of words such as “goober” for peanut and “gumbo” for okra based stew, the introduction of rich and nuanced artistic traditions of music, movement and personal adornment exemplified in forms such as the banjo, jazz dance, and cornrow hair-braiding. In the past 20 years, contacts between Senegalese and Americans, especially African Americans, have resulted in a continuous exchange of artistic and expressive forms. Mutual influences are most evident in music, language, dance and personal adornment.

Shared foodways and performance traditions result from the long history of African contact with the Americas. They have become part of the cultural repertoires of many in the western hemisphere, particularly African Americans and Caribbean peoples. The traditions Senegalese bring from home and continue to practice in the United States are an additional source of our cultural enrichment.

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Members of the Laayen, a Senegalese Muslim religious brotherhood, share tea and conversation after a meal in a New York City apartment (Photo by Martha Cooper, courtesy City Lore)

TERANGA AMONG THE WOLOF PEOPLE

Omar Marone

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These are the principal instruments of social organization among the Wolof:

- the idea of a vital force
- the cult of age
- the art of hospitality

THE IDEA OF A VITAL FORCE

Wolof education is based on an ideology that sees society as a sum of the life forces of its members. These individual life forces can be collectively mobilized to achieve the "specific energy" of a particular society. Social education — with this philosophy in mind — becomes a permanent quest for social cohesion, for progressive adjustments in individual behavior that provide a person with a stable sense of socio-cultural identity so that the individual's life force contributes positively to the social whole.

Hence, any disturbance to this collective plan, any individual sickness or impotence, any social failing produces a negative force that harms the "specific energy" of the community.

The Wolof word *nyumm* means both intellectual integrity and physical well-being: it is a condition for social acceptability.

THE CULT OF AGE

Ku magatul di mag. "He who has stopped growing is an adult." This aspect of Wolof thought envisions a process of maturing that leads a child through adolescence to adulthood. The process is marked by rites of passage, initiation rituals that are ordeals of separation and consecration:

- weaning
- circumcision or excision
- deflowering of the virgin newlywed
- tattooing the lips of a young woman.

For the initiate, the passage from one stage to another is marked by the accumulation of knowledge, information, feelings and discoveries. This process awakens the individual's consciousness and realization of the com-

munal burden of new rights and duties. As an individual matures, he or she is increasingly responsible for insuring socio-cultural continuity. But one becomes an active bearer of group values — a person of knowledge — only after acquiring extensive life experience. The person of knowledge exhibits virtues of carefulness and incorruptibility and thereby earns titles of conservator, exemplar and guardian of the communal socio-cultural heritage, that is, of the group's "specific energy."

THE ART OF HOSPITALITY: TERANGA

A principal of universal kinship places a Wolof individual perpetually in situations of both giving and receiving. Any neglect of the duty of social exchange is a source of disturbances that can threaten the "specific energy" of the community. Among Wolof speaking people, the word *teranga* appropriately conveys this spiritual attitude. The root of the word *teranga* means a part of the body — legs, arms, etc. — or a portion of the whole, the result of a division. *Taer* means a portion owed to a person by right. The verb *teral* means to reassure a stranger of the safety of a place to which he or she has just arrived.

A principal characteristic of Senegalese society, *teranga* is expressed in many customary practices. It is a set of formulas for well-being and for polite behavior taught particularly to young women, who are the future masters of hospitality. The formulas apply to relationships between both individuals and groups.

BETWEEN SELF AND OTHERS

The education of a young woman aims at giving her all she needs to perpetuate good manners. These manners epitomize politeness, child-rearing skills, generosity and hospitality — qualities that predispose her to meet others as a manager of the on-going "specific energy" of the community.

These are some formulas for good manners:

How to sit:

Avoid positions that are indecent or provoking to

others. Decency should rule all communication.

How to address others:

Make a habit of using a low tone of voice appropriate for confidential information.

Never raise your voice or use lewd words.

Avoid contradicting people who are older than yourself.

How to laugh:

Never have outbursts of laughter.

Smiling or discreet laughter is more appropriate.

Keep a kind and friendly expression under all circumstances.

How to look at others:

Avoid looking at others insistently in the eye; to do so indicates aggression and lack of respect.

How to eat:

Always eat from a communal bowl with others.

Never speak with a full mouth.

Never touch meat or fish until adults have served you a portion.

How to walk:

Walk at a normal pace, without hurrying or running.

How to dress:

Avoid sloppy, inappropriate or loud clothing or clothes that reveal the sacred parts of the body.

Dress cleanly and with decency.

How to offer and accept:

Never offer or accept anything from anyone with the left hand. Use the right hand which indicates consideration and friendliness.

BETWEEN COMMUNITIES AND GROUPS

Let us examine, as examples, the relationships between people who belong to a particular caste and those who do not. Castes in Senegal have tacit codes of rules that regulate relationships between people. Those who belong to a particular caste have rights that those who do not belong are obliged to respect, under penalty of offending the established order. The rule of social priority that demands a caste member to avoid a non-caste member is sanctified in the practice of endogamous marriages. This rule leads to exchanges of gifts between caste members, who cannot refuse to reciprocate without sustaining dishonor. This exchange, an expression of *teranga*, is the rule during ceremonies and feasts (wedding, naming ceremony, circumcision, tattooing of the lips, religious festivals and the like) to which relatives, friends and neighbors lend assistance.

TOWARDS NEIGHBOR AND HOST

By tradition, a neighbor who has just moved in must formally present himself to the inhabitants of his new community. In return, they will visit him and welcome him with ritual greeting, *dalal jamm*, "may peace greet you here." This obligatory exchange of civilities assures a reciprocal welcome and avoids intolerance and disorder.

The same ritual formula is used with a stranger to keep him from feeling *toutmouranké*, "disorientation." To take care of all his small needs is to fulfill one's obligation of *teranga*. This form of *teranga* is expressed in a number of ways.

- A welcome is amplified by unrolling a ceremonial cloth under his feet as a "red carpet."

- A calabash full of milk or water is offered along with a cola nut.

- The guest house called *neeru gann*, "room for foreign guests," is prepared.

- Neighbors contribute prepared food for meals to families during a guest's stay; they contribute gifts and provisions when he leaves.

- A host shares his meals with his guest and avoids "leaving the table" first, abandoning him to finish the meal alone.

IN SPECIAL CIRCUMSTANCES

Teranga, which has the goal of establishing good human and social relationships, is also evident on certain special occasions.

The naming ceremony is an opportunity for parents, friends and neighbors to offer *ndokalé*, "congratulations," through their presence, a sign of respect and solidarity more meaningful than gifts of money. These recent expressions of *ndokalé* reflect the contemporary value placed on material goods. The greatest *teranga* on this occasion is a godparent's double gift. The newborn receives the name of this well respected person, whose good qualities, according to belief, will also be conferred on the child.

Offering condolences at a funeral — *deudj*, related to *deju* "to be or stay seated," — is a manifestation of *teranga* as compassion. It is offered as a communal act at the home of the deceased during the funeral ceremonies.

At weddings, in addition to the usual congratulations, *teranga* is expressed in giving someone the role of *ndické*, "first maid-of-honor," which is associated with a variety of responsibilities. It is a gesture usually bestowed on an admired, close relative for whom being head of the procession and ceremonial host is a source of great pride.

Teranga is proper conduct in communal rites. On these occasions good comportment is rewarded and songs are offered to men or women whose behavior indicates they have given the community their own *teranga*. They have shown themselves secure bearers of traditions and guarantors of Wolof socio-cultural heritage.

The Wolof word *teranga* is more than merely a synonym for hospitality. *Teranga* is an aesthetic and moral quality that encompasses much of the spirit of communality of Senegalese society.

SOCIAL BELIEFS AND CRAFT PRACTICES

Abdou Sylla

Translated by Winifred Lambrecht

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Traditional Senegalese society was and still is organized along "caste" lines, that is to say, by distinct social categories which group individuals and their families according to specific occupations.

A caste is a group of individuals who do particular kinds of work and distinguish themselves socially by that work. Within each caste, individuals have specified relationships with each other, following practices specific to their group. The skills of each caste are passed from father to son, and from mother to daughter, vertically, but they also travel horizontally since initiation and other forms of education are carried out collectively.

In traditional Senegalese society, each individual learned his father's and his ancestors' skills: the individual became a jeweler or a cobbler if his father and his ancestors were jewelers or cobblers. And initiation into the ancestors' trade was mandatory. An individual was obliged to learn not only the occupational skills associated with a particular caste but also the accumulated knowledge of its customs and beliefs. It was and still is impossible to escape one's caste. The prejudices and beliefs attached to a caste attach to the individual. Individuals are born into a caste and belong to it all their lives.

Modernization contributes, of course, to the decline of traditional occupations and of traditional initiation into them, particularly in urban centers. But, even so, the beliefs, prejudices and customs associated with each caste still endure. In villages, tradition and crafts are still prevalent and exclusive.

Within the society, however, castes are not closed autonomous groups isolated from one another. Relationships between castes are based on work, on tradition and on social beliefs. These relationships were first incorporated in the reciprocal exchanges of labor. Undoubtedly, certain castes have had the value of their labor progressively diminish during the course of history. The devaluation is the result of a number of factors including colonization, which introduced new kinds of work and the capitalistic division of labor. As a result,

in urban centers, tradition became less determinate.

Nevertheless, the stratification of society into castes remains permanent; and that permanency is always noticeable, especially during social events such as weddings, naming ceremonies and funerals, in which members of different castes customarily perform particular tasks. Not anyone who wants to can be master of ceremonies for a certain family's social event; one has to be the family's *griot* or praise singer. And in exchange for obligations met and services rendered, the griot, like his parents before him, expects considerations and gifts.

Historically all men belonged to specific castes and all were free, except slaves, members of the lowest group, which was not truly a caste, since domestic slavery was the result of warfare and raiding. The practice of African slavery was intensified in the 18th and 19th centuries, driven by the triangular economy tying Europe, Africa and America. In this practice any person could become a slave, domestic or exported, and at the time, any slaver risked becoming a slave himself as a result of defeat.

Generally speaking, castes appear as groups which are hereditary, endogamous, occupation specific and connected with one another through hierarchical ties.

The *G  r* or Nobles

The caste of nobles, called *g  r* in Wolof, is at the top of the caste hierarchy. An important segment of this caste formerly did not have a materially productive occupation. That segment was composed of royal families: the *Damel* of Cayor, the *T  gne* of Baol, the *Buur* of Sine, the *G  l  war* of the Wolof region, the *Ceddo* of the Manding area, and others. Members of this segment usually governed society and led armies. The other part of the *g  r* caste are the *baadolo*, agricultural peasants who were not craftsmen. They represented the majority of the population.

The ideal virtues associated with the position of *g  r* are basically *joom* (honor and dignity), *mun* (patience) and *k  rsa* (decency) which each *g  r* is obliged to enact through behavior, appearance, way of dressing, and the like.

Theoretically all other castes of craftsmen, called *neeno*, work for the géér caste; and every géér family has relationships with workers from the other castes, specialized in the various occupations. Every géér and every géér family is obliged to offer gifts and services to the members of the *neeno* caste who serve them. These relationships of exchange are hereditary, rendered perennial through custom.

The *Tegg*

The second caste in the social hierarchy is that of jewelers and blacksmiths whom the Wolof call *tegg*: they share the common occupation of working fire-heated metals by hitting or pounding them. Other characteristics distinguish them from one another. Jewelers generally work with precious metals, gold and silver mostly, sometimes using the lost wax method; they fashion wearable objects of small size (earrings, rings, pendants, necklaces, and the like) guided only by aesthetic principles. Blacksmiths on the other hand, are traditionally specialists in making utilitarian objects (axes, adzes, hoes, knives) and weapons (guns, spears, sabers, knives, swords, arrowheads.) Jewelers and blacksmiths are thus essential in Senegalese society: they fashion all the tools necessary for economic production and social function, the ornamental objects and tools commonly used in domestic life.

Metalworkers also fulfill a variety of religious, cultural, social and political functions: they are mediators, both among living members of social groups and between the worlds of the living and the dead. They organize funerals and secret societies; they can be counselors to or messengers between political powers. Metalworkers' wives are equally multi-talented; they assist women who are sick, giving birth, or dying, and they also are potters. The multiple social roles the *tegg* play and the mysterious quality of fire and the forge explain the ambivalent feelings they generate: respect and fear, admiration and spite among others.

Traditionally each *tegg* or *tegg* family is attached to one or more géér or géér family and that relationship is transmitted from one generation to the next. Theoretically, a *tegg* gives higher priority to the manufacture of those objects commissioned by his géér and the latter can require his punctual services at any time. In exchange, the *tegg* receives goods and services from his géér, notably during important events occurring in the géér family. Standing obligation and reciprocal exchange are enforced by both parties: to agree to it always and everywhere is part of the ethical code of each caste. Although in the old society the *tegg* usually worked only when commissioned, in the modern world the *tegg* produces a variety of pieces which he exhibits in shop windows and offers to potential clients. Nevertheless, the particular relationships between *tegg* and géér still exists.

The *Uude*

Uude form the third caste, that of cobblers; they work with leather, which they tan, prepare, dye and decorate in the manufacture of knife sheaths and sword scabbards, sandals, horse saddles, bags, billfolds, belts, amulet cases and leather bracelets. Like the metalworkers in traditional society, the leatherworkers were attached to géér or géér families from father to son. This tradition has been perpetuated until now, but like the metalworkers, the leatherworkers do not restrict their clientele.

Undoubtedly, Senegalese leatherwork, particularly that of urban centers, has long been indebted to the leatherwork from the Maghreb, not only for its styles of footwear, typically, *babouches* or Turkish slippers, but also for the acquisition of tanned skins. Senegalese cobblers preferred the tanned pelts imported from Morocco and Tunisia for two main qualities: they were easier to work and they were stronger than locally available pelts. Nevertheless, in recent years Senegalese cobblers have produced a varied array of styles of slippers for the Muslim holiday of Tabaski. These are tanned by the leatherworkers in Senegal. The skins are dyed in vibrant colors which have replaced the more pastel colors of the Maghreb skins. Local goat and sheep skins are used more and more for everyday use, whereas the very costly tanned skins imported from the Maghreb, are saved for the manufacture of *babouches* for the wealthy.

The dynamic quality of this craft can be measured by its abundance of products, variety of styles, number of workshops in various districts, and low asking prices. Like the weavers and the sculptors, the leatherworkers are organized into guilds, each workshop having a specific hierarchy. Nevertheless, the tools of the trade have remained traditional.

The *Rëbb*

The weavers, named *rëbb* by the Wolof, form the fourth caste, which is fast disappearing because of modernization and the textile factories that have appeared in our country. Although in traditional society weaving provided cloth for all clothes, today it produces cloth mainly for women's wrap-around skirts and the large men's robes called *boubous*.

In rural areas weaving is still practiced by families, and they maintain the same kind of exchange relationships with other castes as those already described.

Within the caste of *rëbb* (weavers), are also the *maabo* (woodcarvers). Woodcarvers produce utilitarian objects like mortars and pestles, drums and dugout canoes, benches and chairs, basins, plates, forks, ladies, statues and masks. Today, their various products are sold all over the country and sometimes exported.

Usually settled in the crafts neighborhoods of urban centers or in family workshops, woodcarvers are traditionally organized in guilds. The head of the guild is

responsible for the gathering of primary materials and for the marketing of products. Sometimes he directs young apprentices to market the carvings in hotels and markets, in airports and public squares, or he sends them abroad. This is why we can now see young woodworker merchants selling statues and other African art objects in large European and American cities. They are called *bana-bana* and their merchandise is known as "airport art."

Woodcarvers are known for their linguistic play and impertinence. In that, they resemble the griot, masters of language. Their wives do several kinds of work, such as braiding the hair of women from other castes, particularly the géér, making women's beaded belts worn around the waist and small intimate apparel called *m'becho*; and mixing ingredients for incense. Beaded belts, *m'becho* and incense are designed for sexual allure. Women of the woodcarver caste have their own beaded belts that sometimes weigh several pounds and move so as to attract attention to their hips. They have special dances with their beads and hips. All these customs and behavior are socially accepted because woodcarver castes have traditional license to ignore modesty and reserve. Each caste follows a particular code of ethics; it creates a way of life according to its rules and shapes the attitudes and behavior of its individual members. Thus, one may know, sometimes ahead of time, the kind of reactions and the answers an individual might give, depending on the customs and ethics of his caste.

The *Géval*

In pre-literate societies, where writing and modern means of communication did not exist, the spoken word and the use of language were essential to social organization, to relationships between individuals and to transmission of knowledge, ideas, and values. This is the reason the griot (oral historian) is without a doubt the most well-known and popular figure of traditional Africa, and of Senegal in particular.

The griots, or *géval* belong to the fifth caste. Traditionally, they are considered to be of inferior status and are the troubadours, musicians, singers, oral historians,

praise singers, and the like who generally serve noble families. In traditional society they also played other roles, such as messenger, confidant, and public entertainer. They used to praise and glorify the géér. They told of the heroic feats of warriors. They taught history and instilled social values in younger generations. They might also serve as social mediators and masters of ceremonies. Attached to géér families for generations, the griot received gifts and other goods and was often totally dependent on them.

The *Jaam*

The *jaam*, or slaves, do not in fact constitute a caste. Descendants of past prisoners of war, in many cases, they held inferior status. They depended their whole lives on their masters for food, lodging and clothing and could be inherited by their master's heirs. Every above-mentioned caste could own slaves. *Jaam* were at the exclusive disposal of their master. They were the ones who usually cultivated their master's land and performed what are known as "servile" activities. But the slavery system has gradually disappeared in African societies because of its interdiction by the modern state system and also because of changes in world-view.

These different castes are very separate, even today, and relate to each other only in a traditionally approved manner. For instance, marriage arrangements are still endogamous: marriages are allowed only between people of the same caste. It is extremely rare that a géér marries a tegg and, a tegg's trying to marry a géér would be an insult to the géér family in question. In urban centers however, tradition and custom are becoming less important because of modernization and the changing of popular consciousness; traditional taboos are gradually being eliminated.

Although they have often been perceived as a reason for stagnation in traditional society, castes have contributed to the maintenance of social cohesion. Caste-based production has filled the basic needs of African populations, contributing essential technology and social organization. In traditional Africa, they were elementary forms of social classes.

TRADITIONAL EDUCATION AND CIRCUMCISION AMONG THE DIOLA IN RURAL SENEGAL

Fulgence Sagna

Translated by Winifred Lambrecht

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In Senegal, a child's education starts early in life, since according to a proverb, "A tree already grown cannot be straightened." A child still crawling on all fours is watched carefully by his mother. She is the guardian of the hearth. The father, provider of material well-being, has other daily activities. Both contribute to the child's education.

The mother is responsible for the child's food. She admonishes him to sleep on his side to encourage a healthy physical development. She does not allow him to sleep on his belly or his back, for it is believed that sleeping face down diminishes one's life chances, and sleeping on one's back creates bad dreams. During his first three years, a child imitates adult activities, such as cooking.

In rural areas, around the age of four or five, a boy's education becomes different from a girl's. A girl is encouraged to do household work and is introduced to agricultural tasks. A boy is responsible for keeping goats, sheep and even cattle. He will then learn to work the fields with his father and will join a group of boys his own age. Members of this group help one another in cultivating peanuts and weeding.

Male circumcision is a social institution among many of the peoples of Senegal, but nowhere is it more important than among the Diola. The rite of circumcision is governed by firm rules shared throughout the ethnic community whose economic and cultural life rests on this ethical foundation. According to tradition, circumcision takes place every 15 to 20 years. Each village undertakes the ritual ceremonies at the same time.

The purpose of circumcision is to admit young boys to the community of men as responsible members. It is required of them in order to marry. The sequence of

events during the period of circumcision — isolation from the family, tests of endurance, instruction and learning and return to the family — permanently marks the life of a young man.

- Isolation for three to four months in the sacred grove separates the young from their nuclear families and enhances learning. The length of time has now been reduced because of the conversion of many Diola to Islam or Christianity and the introduction of non-traditional formal education.

- Tests of endurance build a sense of responsibility toward the group of young men and toward the society as a whole. One must give proof of courage and withstand physical and psychological pain.

- Civic and moral instruction aims at transforming the young initiates into responsible members of the community of men.

- Their return to family life marks their attainment of adult status in the community.

The internal structure of circumcision rituals is known only by the Diola. It originated with the creation of sacred groves in the ancient villages of Boulouf, Fogny and Lower-Casamance. Recently founded villages do not have the right to practice circumcision.

During the two days that precede entrance into the sacred groves, certain rites must be performed. These are shaving the head, benediction with sacred water and protection by the forge.

- Shaving the head is done in a sacred spot found in each section of a village. It takes place, for instance, near the sacred post named Boukeg in the Diédiou family section of Niankite-Fougaye. The rite protects the child from bad luck; if it is not respected by the parents of the future initiate, he will have bad luck for the rest of his life. A second part of the ritual takes place

at the Battum forge belonging to the Diédhiou family at Niankite in the Fougaye section. This defends against malevolent spirits that cause childhood diseases and against certain sorcerers. Libations made near two sacred posts protect the child against all evil.

- The sacred water rite also takes place in each section of the village. Initiates from the villages of Niassarang and Kagnarou receive their benediction in the village of Niassarang one day prior to their entrance in the sacred grove. A blessing is made to the water in a depression between two sections of the exposed roots of a *fromager* tree located in the Essyl neighborhood. The initiates are grouped and isolated from women at this time because the sacred water can damage women's normal reproductive development. It makes young women become infertile, pregnant women abort, and women of post childbearing age have menses for the rest of their lives.

- A ritual at the forge protects initiates from dangers that could strike them in the sacred grove. Whoever seeks the blessing of the water of the forge is safe and whoever fails to do so becomes a leper. Blacksmiths heat iron glowing red, then dip it into water. That water is sprinkled on the future initiates. For Fogny, the ritual takes place in the villages of Niankite, Suelle, and Diakine among the Diédhiou families, who alone are in charge of the forge.

CIRCUMCISION IN KAGNAROU VILLAGE

According to Diola tradition, entrance into the sacred grove must be sanctioned by the spiritual beings who reside there. Men in charge of the sacred grove appoint the person who widely announces the date on which the initiates may enter. The day is usually selected according to the ancestral, lunar calendar.

The eve of the entrance into the sacred grove is marked in the various village neighborhoods by celebrations that include shooting off firearms. Villagers are divided into two groups, and those from the Bapolondioc neighborhood are the first to circle the fromager tree four to seven times. In Niankite village it is those from the Fougaye section who circle the fromager tree. At this time, gunshots increase, and singing is accompanied by flutes, horns and the clash of metal objects. These shooting demonstrations take place in the after-

noon and evening, sometimes longer. Foubalot Badji, the great sorcerer from Bignona county, makes future initiates invulnerable with a traditional meal that protects them against swords, knives, arrows and bullets.

Finally, on the next day, the day appointed by the spirits for entering into the sacred grove, the opening ritual is carried out by those who belong to the oldest neighborhood. At Kagnarou, since people from Bapolondioc refused to agree to the conditions requested by their grove, they delegated the solemn opening to people from the Kassana neighborhood. After that section, Kansy, Dialamantang, Baliyong, and others follow. A huge crowd led by dancers follows the future initiates. Women come behind singing. They have tears in their eyes at the thought that their sons may not return after their stay in the grove. Some carry a jug of water or *dolo*, a drink made from millet flour, water, and a special plant reserved for the initiates. A line at the edge of the grove marks a boundary beyond which strangers and women cannot go.

There the initiates are given a drink of water or *dolo* and then enter the grove in single file. The rhythm of gunshots increases. Women and visitors must return to the village.

At Mlomp village in Bignona county, the shaving ritual is performed in front of a large crowd on the day the initiates enter the grove. Shaving is done with a knife or razor blade. When a future initiate is shaved, a tuft of hair is left near the forehead. Women carry smoldering bunches of palm nuts whose copious smoke distracts evil spirits. The initiates' remaining tuft of hair is removed near a fromager tree chosen for that occasion in each neighborhood. In the Fogny area, the tuft is removed at the ancestral home of the founder of a section.

In Mlomp, rituals take place alongside holes from which earth was dug to make mortar for building houses. The initiates circle a hole seven times, preceded by their mentors. Women are not allowed to take part in this procession.

All Mlomp neighborhoods go to a central grove located in the South for the initial testing of their initiates. The priority for entrance is the same as in the Fogny and Boulouf areas. Those from the oldest neighborhood enter first. All must obey the rules and wait at the outskirts of the grove. If ancestral priorities are not respected, severe consequences await the erring neigh-

borhoods. Deaths, disappearances and cases of insanity may result for those who disobeyed. Grove spirits harass group members until ancestral rules are followed and sacrifices made. Once the first part of the ritual at the central grove has ended, men surround the initiates, who carry branches with green leaves. A procession to each of the other sacred groves then follows.

Gunshots cease. All that can be heard is the singing of men that calls forth courage and willpower from each initiate about to receive the ancestral seal of circumcision.

The rituals that take place inside the grove concern the Diola people only. To reveal them would result in death or insanity.

MUSICS OF STRUGGLE

Anthony Seeger

INTRODUCTION

If music were not a powerful resource in social and political struggles it would not be so widely censored, controlled, and surrounded with restrictions. All around the world music creates loyalties and galvanizes opposition so well that music itself sometimes becomes an object of struggle, rather than an expression of broader issues. Americans with long memories will recall the politically motivated artist blacklisting in the 1950s, the moral furor over the Rolling Stones in the 1960s, and many other so-called "crises" that prefigured today's uneasiness about rap and heavy metal. As I write, several states are debating record labeling statutes, *Newsweek* presents a cover story on rap music (March 19, 1990 with letters in subsequent issues), and Gary Trudeau's comic strip "Doonesbury" caricatures the generational, exclusionary, aspects of American popular music (*The Washington Post*, March 5-10, 1990). At the same time, song and dance accompany liberation movements in South Africa, the Baltic, and the Middle East; union halls swell with song, and musical groups in Latin America promote local community development.

"Other people" aren't the only ones who use music in their struggles. Did you ever make up a song about one of your teachers, a girlfriend or boyfriend, your boss, or try "rapping" about something that bothered you? Did you ever remain stubbornly silent when everyone else was singing something you didn't agree with? Maybe you recall singing (or *not* singing) "We Shall Overcome" as you marched in Washington, "I Ain't Gonna Study War No More" in the antiwar movement, or some other song that expressed political positions you held. Whether you joined with thousands of others in public or sang alone in the shower, you probably have some experience with the subject of this summer's music program, "Musics of Struggle."

Performers at the 1990 Festival of American Folklife

will present some of the music they have used in their struggles, and you will have an opportunity to contribute your own songs of struggle to the archives of the Smithsonian Institution's Office of Folklife Programs by singing them to collectors at the Festival. This short essay outlines some general features of music in social struggles. By no means complete, readers can supplement it with examples from their own experience and with the books and records cited in the bibliography.¹

HOW IS MUSIC MEANINGFUL?

Music consists of structured sounds, including pitches that are combined to form melodies, beats that are combined to form rhythms, and sound textures that are combined to form what musicians call timbres. Repetitive patterns are central to all music, and the patterns are given meanings by performers and their audiences, by fans as well as detractors. The patterns of each musical feature may convey meaning, and each can be varied to change or comment on its usual associations. Thus some people may associate a certain melody — a national anthem for example — with national pride and citizenship; but to others the melody may mean political oppression and exclusionary laws. Playing the melody to a different rhythm, at a different speed, or with unusual orchestration can mock or accentuate the sentiments usually associated with it.

Certain rhythms can be significant in themselves. The steady beat of a march may recall parades, wars, or sports events. A "disco" beat may inspire dancing while other rhythms may recall national, regional, or ethnic traditions. Sometimes rhythms can be quite specific. In Afro-Brazilian religious drumming, certain rhythms are associated with specific deities.

While Western musicology has rarely focused on sound qualities, these can have associations of their

The Musics of Struggle Program has been made possible, in part, by the Music Performance Trust Funds, the Inter-American Foundation and the Arab American Cultural Foundation.

¹Most of the literature on music of struggle deals with specific traditions. Very few general observations appear to have been made about the relation of music to struggle outside of particular historical circumstances (but see Denselow 1989). This essay is an initial attempt at such an approach. Readers are invited to send their suggestions and comments to the author at the Office of Folklife Programs.

own. The same melody and rhythm performed on a brass band will have a different effect on the audience from a performance on violins or piccolos. Certain instrumental or vocal timbres become associated with class, regional, national, or even international traditions. The unique sound quality of Andean Indian instruments has itself become an emblem of an emerging ethnic and regional identity, quite apart from the melodies and rhythms performed on them. Sound qualities are directly associated with types of instruments (even in this age of the synthesizer), and certain sounds may be associated with the regional origin or social history of the instruments themselves. Swiss horns, Norwegian hardingfiddles, American banjos, Caribbean steel drums, Scottish bagpipes, African royal drums, and many other instruments have associations with a region, a way of life, and often with a type of music. Just a little bit of their sound carries with it many other associations.

Music is structurally repetitive. Sometimes the repetitions themselves are significant. They may even embody a cosmology, where a pattern is repeated for each of the cardinal directions, each of the major deities, or some other consecrated number.

As long ago as 1779 the French writer philosopher Jean-Jacques Rousseau noted that the "meaning" of music does not reside in its physical sounds so much as in their interpretation. His famous description of how a certain song could make Swiss army troops burst into tears, desert, or even die, makes this important general point about music:

We shall seek in vain to find in this air any energetic accents capable of producing such astonishing effects. *These effects, which are void in regard to strangers, come alone from custom, reflection, and a thousand circumstances, which retrac'd by those who hear them, and recalling the idea of their country, their former pleasures, their youth, and all the joys of their life, excite in them a bitter sorrow for the loss of them. The music does not in this case act precisely as music [physical sound], but as a memorative sign... It is not in their physical action we should seek for the great effects of sounds on the human heart.* (Rousseau 1975 [1779]:267, emphasis mine)

The "thousand circumstances" that give meaning to melodies, rhythms, and timbres are specific and historical. Since each aspect of music (melody, rhythm, timbre, repetitiveness) can be varied independently to comment on or modify the significance of the other aspects, music can be a complex system of signs capable of being used even without words in struggles.

Song is the combination of music and language. The addition of words to music adds rhetorical power and semantic complexity to the already subtle messages sent and interpreted through instrumental music. Most song texts are poetry, constructed within constraints of meter, sometimes rhyme, and sometimes the pitches of a tonal

language. Song texts can convey information in many different ways and can be altered to suit the occasion even more easily than musical features. In comparison with speech, most song texts are relatively fixed, and their association with particular melodies can serve both memory and irony.

Songs permit the creation of complex relationships between the music and the text. Sometimes the music will be used to express one message and the text to express another altogether. A songwriter can take a popular melody and write new words to it that may even contradict the original song. Joe Hill, a labor songwriter for the I.W.O., took the melody from a hymn "In the Sweet Bye and Bye" and parodied its religious rhetoric with the words "You'll get pie in the sky, bye and bye." He also used the melody from a song about a prostitute and wrote words to it about a woman labor organizer, and took the melody of a popular love song and put words to it about a prostitute. The "Battle Hymn of the Republic" and "Solidarity Forever" use the same melody to express different ideas. The combination of a well-known melody with new words can be an important resource in the musics of struggle.

Music does not only convey messages. Performing music can increase feelings of community and solidarity. One way to turn a crowd into a community is to get people to sing, chant, or gesture together (the last being effectively used in the Gallaudet "Deaf President Now" protests in 1988 represented at this year's Festival). There are many participatory singing traditions in the



Jeff Bravin and John Maucore lead the chant for a "deaf president forever" before a supportive crowd. (Photo by Jeff Beatty, courtesy Gallaudet University Press)

United States, among them civic, religious, and popular songs. People will often join in when they know the music, and this is another reason many songwriters have taken old melodies and put new words to them.

Although we may consider union songs or modified spirituals as seen in the U.S. Civil Rights Movement to be "typical" protest songs, no single musical form or song

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SONGS AND STORIES OF STRUGGLE: MUSIC AND VERSE AS ETHICAL DISCOURSE

Jacquelin C. Peters

THE PITTSTON COAL STRIKE

The Greenwich, Connecticut headquarters of the Pittston Company is far from the southwest Virginia coal miners it employs both in miles and in attitude, from the point of view of organized labor. Citing a need to revamp Pittston's financial structure in the late 1980s, management decided to reduce costs by cutting a number of miners' benefits, including lifetime health care pensions. Since coal miners enter the occupation recognizing its high risk of black lung disease and other mine related ailments, health care benefits have been part of labor contracts for decades. Pittston also wanted mandatory overtime, increased numbers of non-union workers and sub-contracting to non-union companies. Fourteen months into negotiations, members of the United Mine Workers of America voted to strike; it began on April 4, 1989.

A musical dimension of this struggle emerged in the newly composed lyrics sung to traditional gospel and bluegrass music. Mrs. Edna Sauls of the Daughters of Mother Jones emerged as an inspired lyricist, and the Rabbit Ridge Pea Pickers became well-known musical morale boosters. One lyric written in response to repeated encounters with Virginia state troopers and addressed to former Governor Baliles said:

*Going to Richmond,
And when I go,
Tell that old Virginia boy
We ain't gonna haul no coal*

During the Christmas season, traditional carols were given a new slant with words that expressed the determination of the miners to stand firm.

Hazel Dickens of Mercer County, West Virginia, whose musical talents were featured in the Academy Award winning film "Harlan County, U.S.A." and in "Matewan," has sung what she calls "southern mountain music" for most of her life. Her father mined for a living and made music

for enjoyment in addition to working as a Baptist minister. His eleven children grew up singing and playing instruments. Ms. Dickens' home community experienced lay-offs and strikes, and she lost her oldest brother and two brothers-in-law to black lung disease. Her songs on social issues and coal mining—including one she wrote on black lung—embody the experience and aesthetics of a vital, regional music tradition, interpreted through her own individual perspective and remarkable talent.

Ms. Dickens notes how similar the mine wars of the 1920s were to the Pittston strike. Then as now, "gun thugs" were used to try to intimidate the strik-



Striking coal miners use music as a morale booster on the picket line. (Photo by Richard Barbero, courtesy United Mine Workers of America)

ers. Ms. Dickens observed that the Pittston strikers, like their predecessors 60 years ago, were "extremely spirited" in their resolve to fight. "It was great to see," said Ms. Dickens, who has given several performances to benefit the Pittston miners.

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style can be isolated as "the music of struggle." Almost any kind of music can be used as a sign of struggle, depending on the meanings given to the performances by participants and their opponents. An instrumental arrangement can be as forceful as a lyric; a rhythm can be as expressive as a phrase. Sometimes an unchanged old folk song is as potent as a new composition. The meaning of a musical performance depends to a large extent on the specific context in which it occurs — the "thousand circumstances" referred to by Rousseau and rarely understood fully except after considerable investigation.

WHY USE MUSIC IN STRUGGLES?

Why do people involved in struggles make music at all? Wouldn't it be more effective to work silently and resolutely to change an unsatisfactory situation rather than sing songs about it? Although it has been argued "the pen is mightier than the sword," what would happen if everyone put down their pens, stopped making music, and took up swords? What indeed! They might all swing their swords in different directions, at different times, and at different foes. Among other things, music can focus attention, mobilize emotions, and coordinate activities.

To mobilize people toward a goal, you need to make the issues clear, you need to get people to agree with them, and you need to incite them to act. Music can accomplish these quite effectively. Songs can help bring certain issues into focus and specify an approach to

them. Song words can be standardized and passed on without requiring that people read, write, or possess incriminating evidence. Music can focus attention on injustices, create feelings of solidarity, advocate a certain cause, encourage supporters, and frighten opponents. It can create links between the present and the past while helping to create a new and different future.

Music is not unique in its ability to act symbolically in struggle. Although language, dialect, speeches, written documents, dancing, theater, dress, and even food can all mobilize groups, music has several attributes that make it particularly suitable for mobilizing people. Songs often can be performed while doing something else (like working or marching); they don't necessarily require physical objects (props, stoves, plates, etc.), they can be changed quickly, and they can be sufficiently abstract to unify a wide range of support and confuse the opposition.

Although music is widely used in struggles, it is not found everywhere. Protest is sometimes expressed through silence or another expressive mode. Where most public forms of music are dominated by a central state, opposition to the state may take non-musical forms. Where individual opinions are not culturally sanctioned, new songs may not be composed. Where music is considered to be a low status form of activity, performers of higher status may choose other modes of expression. Opposition may be expressed by refusing to participate (silence) or refusing to attend performances (boycotting) rather than through music itself. Silence is probably a fairly common protest in societies where everyone is expected to participate, and where

all music is ritual and cannot be altered to convey particular messages. Boycotting performances (and attending other performances) is probably common in societies where attending an event is considered to indicate group membership or common cause with the organizers and performers.

Yet in societies with a fair degree of individualism, where musical composition and performances are considered to be voluntary acts, the use of music in struggles seems likely to appear.

Protest music especially written for a certain struggle can take a number of different approaches. They may simply state "we are here, and we endure." They may emphasize the common identity of group feeling or relate information and spread recent news (like aural newspapers) or recall past events that exemplify the struggle (like stories of massacres or victories), or commemorate movement heroes and even other songwriters. They may refer to ethical values and evoke emotions by describing a tense situation with humor or irony (often present in topical songs), or by making fun of powerful opponents — supervisors, teachers, politicians, a church. By commemorating the past and singing about heroes, songs can relate a local struggle to a larger social movement, endowing local events with a wider historical significance. Conversely, a larger movement may make more sense when its issues are exemplified by references to local events.

Music of struggle is often functional and disposable. When the situation changes, the music will be changed. A topical song may have a dramatic relevance one moment and be swiftly forgotten as other issues arise. The subtle relationship of music and text may be forgotten when the music no longer has the same associations. On the other hand, songs long dormant may be revived, changed, and used again, gaining and conferring cumulative historical significance.

The performances presented in the 1990 Festival of American Folklife all commemorate recent movements, or movements which are frequently recalled. Yet some of their songs have a long history.

INVESTIGATING MUSICS OF STRUGGLE

Many different kinds of struggle have musical expression. The best way to approach the subject is to examine first the nature of the struggle and then the way its participants use and interpret music, if they do so at all.

Struggle can be defined as "A continued effort to resist force or free oneself from constraint" (Oxford English Dictionary). It can be contrasted with "protest" which means to make a public declaration against something. Struggles include protests, but struggles are the larger social process which actually oppose particular social practices.

Human societies are filled with struggles, which take a variety of forms. Social life is characterized as much by conflict as by harmony. Virtually every social group is composed of smaller groups with different access to important resources and different power to constrain others — crucial differences that generate tensions and conflict. In some societies the main contrasts may be age and gender. In other societies divisions may fall along ethnic lines; in yet others they may be formed by birth, naming, or the inheritance of scarce knowledge or resources. In nearly every society some members of the groups so formed attempt to escape from these constraints or at least to create areas where constraints do not apply.

Some types of conflict are constant within a society, others appear from time to time, and yet others are very specific and occur only once in a while. Some of the most obvious forms of conflict appear between age and gender groups, within occupations, in political disputes, between culturally defined groups, and in international events.

DOMESTIC STRUGGLES

Not all struggles involve ethnic groups, political parties, or labor unions. Some struggles occur in the home, between parents and children and between men and women. Conflicts between parents and children and between an age group and its nearby age groups are common in many societies. There is often more harmony between more distantly related people — grandparents and grandchildren, older and much younger — than between adjacent groups. In the United States the family is an arena of considerable conflict. Children's struggles with their parents are amply documented in popular music, which may become the object of parental protest — witness the furor over Madonna's song "Papa Don't Preach."

Relations between men and women define another area of considerable conflict in many societies. Relations between men and women have been a topic of songs for centuries. An old lament goes:

*Oh bard is the fortune of all womenkind
Always controlled and always confined
Controlled by their parents until they are wives
Then slaves to their husbands the rest of their lives.*

If that has changed, it has been through individual, collective, and legislative struggles. The women's rights movements of the 20th century have stimulated many excellent songwriters.

U.S. popular music tends to highlight the difficulties confronted in relationships with members of the opposite sex in musical forms produced for dancing with them. Many country music lyrics speak of loneliness and isolation. Often decried for ignoring larger social

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KURDS

Jacquelin C. Peters

Kurdistan — "land of the Kurds" — a fertile area rich in oil, chrome, copper, iron and lignite, occupies an expanse of land only slightly smaller than the state of Texas, but it cannot be found on standard maps today. For thousands of years, Kurds have inhabited the Zagros and Taurus mountains of eastern Anatolia, which span parts of present day Iraq, Iran, Syria, Turkey, and Soviet Armenia. Kurdish attempts to assert political autonomy have been opposed — often violently — by the governments of surrounding countries.

Continuing clashes between the Kurds and the national powers have devastated and displaced their population. Deported and subjected to chemical warfare in Iraq, the Kurds have been especially hard hit in the 1980s. The assault on this ethnic group takes on cultural aspects in Syria and in Iran, where traditional clothing and holidays, such as the Newroz (New Year's Day), have been declared illegal.

In the hands of artists such as Shivan Perwer, Feqiye Teyra and Temo Ezzadin, the tambour — a traditional instrument with three sets of doubled strings — makes music that is perceived as a threat by the countries they fled. Said Gabari, a musician who resided in Syria, is said to have been blinded ten years ago as a result of his musical themes. Other renown Kurdish singers living in exile include Naser Razzazi, who performed for the Kurdish Newroz celebration sponsored by the D.C. chapter of the Kurdish National Congress, and Sherin, who employs nationalistic themes and exemplifies the prominent role

women have had throughout Kurdish history. The poetic message of the songs, sometimes strong, sometimes subtle, is dangerous rhetoric or high art according to the listener's perspective.

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Wearing national dress, Kurds celebrate *Newroz* (New Year's) on March 24, 1990. These material, ceremonial and cultural expressions of ethnic identity are forbidden by governments seeking to assimilate or eliminate the Kurds. (Photo courtesy Kurdish National Congress)

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THE GALLAUDET "DEAF PRESIDENT NOW" MOVEMENT

Jacquelin C. Peters

Gallaudet University students galvanized the deaf community and revolutionized global perceptions of deaf people in their "Deaf President Now" (DPN) Movement in March, 1988. "The time is now" was their rallying cry, which held implications for deaf pride, self-assertion, and civil rights extending beyond the DPN issue.

Gallaudet University, founded by President Lincoln in 1864 and funded primarily through Congressional appropriations, educates deaf students from pre-school age through graduate school. When the sixth president, Dr. Jerry Lee, announced that he was retiring, there was optimism on campus that, for the first time in the University's 124-year history, one of the two qualified deaf candidates, Dr. Harvey J. Corson or Dr. I. King Jordan, would be voted into the vacated position by the Board of Trustees. When the Chair of the 21-member board, only five of whom were deaf, announced the board's choice of Dr. Elisabeth Zinser — a hearing educator who knew no sign language — initial shock, anger and disbelief gave way to student mobilization and strike from March 6 through 13, 1988.

Four student leaders — Greg Hlibok, Jerry Covell, Bridgetta Bourne, and Tim Rarus — together stood at the helm as organizers, spokespersons and morale boosters. On the first day of the strike, 500 students set out to shut down the campus after a stormy meeting with the university administration. While the school remained open, students claimed that 90 percent of the campus community participated in the strike. Campus entrances were blockaded with shuttle busses after the tires were flattened. The faculty voted 147 to 5 to back the students.

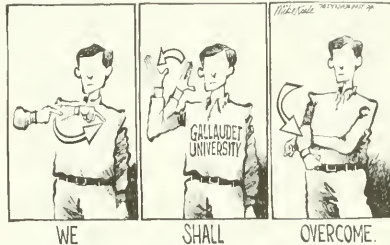
The civil rights movements of other groups, such as African Americans, South Africans and women, served as points of comparison and reference in the DPN struggle. During the campus rallies, student leader and cheerleader Bridgetta Bourne led sign language chants such as "Deaf Power!" "Deaf President Now!" and "Zinser Out!" to keep spirits high as the freedom songs did in the Civil Rights Movement of the 1960s. A waving sea of hands signed to the 4

th rhythm of impromptu percussionists at DPN demonstrations the way that a dance class or a cheerleading practice at Gallaudet moves to a drummed beat.

The Friday "Deaf Pride Day" march on the Capitol, which attracted 3,000 marchers from all over the U.S., was headed by a banner borrowed from the Crispus Attucks Museum emblazoned with the message "We Still Have a Dream"; the same banner had been used in a march to have Dr. King's birthday decreed a national holiday. The "Deaf Pride Day" march and demonstration on the National Mall took place as planned despite Zinser's previous resignation, as the strikers waited for the response to their other demands. Using sign language and lip synchronization, students of the Model Secondary School for the Deaf (MSSD) presented "The Time is Now," composed by theater teacher and playwright Tim McCarthy.

The words the deaf world had been waiting for came on Sunday, March 13, when Dr. I. King Jordan was voted in as the eighth president of Gallaudet University. A majority deaf task force was named to formulate a majority deaf board. Ultimately there were no reprisals against the strikers. A surprisingly peaceful scene awaited President Jordan on

Monday, March 14, when he arrived on campus to begin his administration.



The "Deaf President Now" Movement drew inspiration from other struggles involving civil rights (Cartoon by Mike Keefe of the Denver Post)

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issues, U.S. popular music does focus on a few of the common experiences faced by parts of the population.

A musical genre itself may become an emblem of an age group, and an expression of its protest against the standards of another group. This may happen in any country, and often involves the adoption of a new musical form by a certain class or age group. In the United States during the 20th century almost every generation has been identified with an emerging musical style (although its members may listen to many different kinds of music). One group will support the style, another group will oppose it, and the arguments will be waged at the dining room table, on the pages of *Billboard Magazine*, *People Magazine* and sometimes in the halls of Congress. The United States has a long history of attempting to ban music and dance as lascivious and dangerous to the public good. At times musical performance itself becomes the battlefield, rather than simply the expression of a larger conflict over self determination and authority. The original social condition is not remedied, but instead song content about it is censored (a point reiterated by many of the defenders of the music industry against the censorship of offensive texts).

School is one of the first experiences many children have with authority beyond the family, and one would expect experience in schools to contribute to some rather pithy songs. A "Talking Homework Blues" I wrote in 7th grade is an example of a song that describes a child's struggle at school but does not propose a remedy (except perhaps not falling behind in the first place). Given how important teachers are to their students at all levels, it is surprising that there is no bibliography on children's songs about school.

WORK STRUGGLES

Many kinds of work involve hierarchical organization, inequality, and often outright exploitation of some people by others. The struggles to survive with low wages, to grow enough crops to pay back borrowed money, to improve working conditions, to organize workers to negotiate with, contend against, or escape from their supervisors, bosses, middlemen, or owners (in the case of slavery) have fostered hundreds of songs over the decades.

Some occupational songs are fitted to the work itself: woodcutting songs and sail-raising songs coordinate collective activities while long ballads may help pass away tedious hours spent in repetitive tasks. Other songs describe a worker's life and the difficulties of surviving under harsh discipline on low wages. Songs

related to union organizing have become the archetype for songs of struggle in the United States.

The U.S. labor movement has a long, bitter, and embattled history. Certain industries have seen prolonged strife over union organizing, strikes, and retaliation by company owners often supported by local, state, and even national authorities. The eastern coal mining industry is one of the most famous of these industries. Difficult, dangerous, and unhealthy working conditions, the fluctuating markets for coal, the rural location of mines, and changing mining technology have resulted in long and violent conflicts, of which the recently settled Pittston Coal strike is only the most recent example. Some of the most famous union organizing songs, such as "Which Side Are You On?" (They say in Harlan county 'There are no neutrals there./ Either you're a union man Or a thug for J.H. Blair.) originated in mining strife.

Many songs about work and labor unrest are composed about particular events and then forgotten when the crisis passes, perhaps to be replaced by another song about something else. John Greenway notes,

except for the very simple ones ("We Shall Not Be Moved") and the very best ones ("Union Maid") [songs of protest] are likely to become forgotten quickly because it is easier to set to the basic tune new words more relevant to immediate issues and circumstances than it is to remember the old. (John Greenway 1953:6)

To Greenway's comment one can add Pete Seeger's observation that "almost every old song can teach you good things, but it can also teach you bad things, and you have to balance the two when you sing it..." (*Sing Out!* 29 (3): 4). Songs are not only replaced because they are forgotten, but also because they are not entirely appropriate to a new situation.

Professional musicians have taken some songs from local communities and made them part of the national repertory. The song "Which Side Are You On?" (mentioned above) was forgotten in its home community while it was being revived as a union song in other places. Pete Seeger recalls:

In 1940 I learned the song "Which Side Are You On?" from a folklorist who had been researching in eastern Kentucky in 1932. Later, I met Mrs. Reece, who wrote the song. At that time it was unknown except in the memories of her family and a few miners of Harlan county who heard her daughters sing it in the 1932 union meetings. (P. Seeger 1972: 76)

Partly because of Pete Seeger's use of "Which Side Are You On?" in the union movement and later in the

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U.S. popular music has often been criticized for its distance from the social and political realities of people's lives. Regardless of what it does *not* portray, what it does select is an important part of American culture. There are no examples of family and generational struggle with the music program this year, but examples should be familiar to anyone acquainted with the popular music scene.

SOUTH AFRICA

Jacquelin C. Peters

Since the Dutch first settled at the Cape of Good Hope in 1652, South Africa's bountiful land and mineral riches have been sources of conflict. Over the course of several centuries, Dutch (now the Afrikaners) and British settlers were able to seize land from the indigenous African peoples. By the end of the 19th century, the Europeans dominated over 90 percent of the territory. When diamonds and gold were discovered in the late 19th century, European settlers prevented Africans from sharing in the land's wealth and transformed them into a tightly controlled, poorly paid labor force.

When the Union of South Africa came into existence in 1910, the new settler-run government held absolute political and economic power. Segregation was the order of the day and, with few exceptions, Africans could not participate in political decisions. They were allowed to hold jobs only as unskilled, cheap laborers.

Since 1948, the Nationalist Party has been in power. It has promoted a policy called *apartheid* (separateness), which built on and intensified European domination through a vast array of laws and edicts. The Population Registration Act categorized people into different racial groups; the Groups Areas Act separated different racial groups in the urban areas; the Abolition of Passes and Coordination of Documents Act forced all Africans above the age of 16 to carry passes which controlled their residence and movement. The government's ultimate objective was to consign African people, 75 percent of South Africa's population, to bits of impoverished land called Bantustans or homelands, on about 13 percent of its poorest land. In order to achieve that, the government forcibly removed an estimated

3.5 million African people from their homes between 1960 and 1980. The government also insured that Africans would continue to have inferior education by structuring a school system that favored European children. The government allocates \$296 for the schooling of each African child compared to \$1,194 for each European child (Williams, 1990:23).

African leaders and organizations have challenged the injustices and inequities of colonial rule at every step. A leading organization representing Black

opinion has been the African National Congress (ANC), founded in 1912. Along with other African protest and trade union groups, the ANC challenged colonial rule through non-violent strategies until the government outlawed the opposition in 1960, and banned the ANC, Pan African Congress (PAC) and the Communist Party. The bannings and failed attempts to effect a peaceful settlement led the ANC and the PAC to turn to armed struggle. Government repression of Black dissent has been forceful in recent decades, but political, church, community, student and trade union groups have sustained the struggle and captured worldwide attention.

In February, 1990, the government lifted its bannings on Black opposition movements and released ANC leader Nel-

son Mandela, who had been in prison for 27 years. But despite the release of Mandela and other anti-apartheid leaders, many more political prisoners remain in jail. Despite the legalizing of organizations such as the ANC and the PAC, the State of Emergency remains in effect. Despite the government statement that exiles may return to South Africa, they may still face prosecution and jail for their political acts. Moreover, Blacks do not have the vote, and the three



Music and dance were vital components of the reception welcoming Nelson Mandela to Lusaka, Zambia. (Photo by D. Michael Cheers, courtesy African Studies and Research Program, Howard University)

key apartheid laws — the Natives Land Act, the Population Registration Act, and the Group Areas Act — still endure. The government has done away with some discriminatory laws, but apartheid is still in force.

Music of struggle in South Africa has many forms and performance contexts. It is based on a variety of regional styles including unaccompanied polyphonic singing, which is an integral part of everyday life. Another regional influence on music used in struggle is praise poetry, often a rap-like poetic recitative that affirms the cultural significance of particular people and events. Such poetry is found today among urban laborers who use the genre to express their physical prowess and to give voice to problems they face far from their families. Amahubo, clan identity anthems with slow, synchronized movements and high kicks, is another traditional base for men's songs and dance steps performed in the setting of workers' compounds.

South African music of struggle also has had sources in European musics and in the musics of touring choirs and musical reviews. Influences on South African composers and arrangers during the early 1900s include African American music of the Fisk Jubilee Singers and choirs of the charismatic Church of God in Christ denomination; minstrel music, and ragtime, the popular syncopated American music of the turn of the century. Blending such genres with their own traditional music, noted South African composers working in the makwaya ("choir") genre — such as Caluza, Bokwe, and Tyamzashe — combined rising nationalistic feelings and social commentary with compelling harmonies and rhythms.

Ngoma, songs and dances performed at weddings, together with mission school "action song," laid the groundwork for mbube, which consciously adapted a European (homophonic) four-part harmony vocal style.¹ In 1939, a young migrant worker Solomon Linda made the first recording — entitled "Mbube" — which named and documented the genre; the melody would be identified by American audiences as "The Lion Sleeps Tonight." Isicathamiya ("walk softly") and cathoza mfana ("walk steadily, boys"), other forms of Zulu male singing which developed from mbube, have gained international commercial acceptance.²

Mbube songs expressing political protest against exploitation were often heard on the South African Broadcasting Corporation until the late 1940s, when stringent monitoring became the rule. "Vukani Mauvehu" ("Wake Up, My People"), a well-known makwaya song, frightened radio censors with its potential to mobilize Africans. And until recently it was illegal even to hum the ANC anthem "Nkosi Sikelel' iAfrika" ("God Bless Africa"), although this has not prevented people around the world from learning the song. The circumvention of censorship continues to be a challenge to South African musicians and composers: South African music has served as a means of defining opposition to colonial rule and affirming African identity and unity.

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¹ "Action song" is accompanied by controlled movements allowing a physical response to music, short of dancing, which was forbidden by the church fathers.

² Contemporary major exponents include the Boyoyo Boys, whose singing first caught Paul Simon's ear, leading to the success of Ladysmith Black Mambazo outside of Africa. "Ladysmith" serenades its international following — with a non-political repertory — in English as well as Zulu.

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Boyoyo Boys. *Back in Town*. Rounder Records 5026.

Harry Belafonte and Miriam Makeba. *An Evening with Belafonte and Makeba*. RCA LSP3420.

Ladysmith Black Mambazo, African Zulu Male Choir, others. *Mbube Roots: Zulu Choral Music from South Africa, 1930's-60's*. Rounder Records 5025.

Let Their Voices Be Heard: Traditional Singing in South Africa. Rounder Records 5024.

Manka Le Phallang, Manonyana A Moama, Sebata Sebata. *Sheshube: The Sound of the Mines*. Rounder Records 5031.

Music of Lesotho. Recorded and annotated by Bill Wood. Smithsonian Folkways 4224.

Radio Freedom: Voice of the African National Congress and the People's Army Umkhonto We Sizwe. Rounder Records 4019.

South African Freedom Songs. Smithsonian Folkways EP 601.

South African Trade Union Worker Choirs. Rounder Records 5020.

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Civil Rights Movement, the song has been a part of musical performances in a variety of struggles. As in other areas, professional musicians play important roles by bringing (often arranged) versions of local traditions to wider, sometimes international, audiences. Many people not directly involved in a struggle may hear about it first through songs.

Smithsonian Folkways Records has issued two recordings in time for the Festival that deal with labor struggles and union organizing: "Don't Mourn — Organize! Songs of Labor Songwriter Joe Hill" (SF40026) and Woody Guthrie's "Struggle" (SF40025). One of the richest areas of American protest music, union songs have a vast bibliography and discography.

STRUGGLES FOR POLITICAL AUTONOMY

The political boundaries of modern nations are very often shaped more by wars, treaties, and colonization than by cultural homogeneity. Most nations today contain many different cultural or ethnic groups within their borders. Ethnic strife in Ireland, the USSR, Eastern Europe, and the United States provide examples of the difficulties states have in dealing with culturally different populations within a single state. The heterogeneity of modern states has led to two related social processes that have both used music: 1) the forging of a "national identity" out of (or over) a variety of local identities and 2) the creation and maintenance of local identities in the face of a (forged) national identity that does not usually recognize local differences.

Faced with heterogeneous populations and the necessity of defending political borders, many nations have "created traditions" to establish a national unity

(see Hobsbawm and Ranger 1983). The traditions may include national songs (national anthems are such a form), national dress composed of an amalgamation of regional dress forms, and a national identity based on a variety of symbolic forms such as celebrations of independence, the birthdays of heroes, and stories about the founding of the state that establish its identity as a nation and downplay regional differences and conflicts.

While national institutions create their own sense of tradition, groups within the nation often struggle to assert a degree of autonomy. This is often done through language, dress, religious affiliation, and music. The controversies over whether schools should be under local control, whether English should be the sole U.S. national language and the square dance the official U.S. national dance, and other issues of ethnic identity raise issues here in the United States that are similar to those being raised in Eastern Europe. African Americans, Polish Americans, Hispanics, American Indians, and many other groups have asserted cultural autonomy by perpetuating particular secular and religious traditions through music.

Several performers at the Festival of American Folklife represent regional populations that are struggling for an independent identity within states largely controlled by members of other groups. These include the Kurds and the Palestinians, among many others that might have appeared.

POLITICAL ISSUES

Participants in political conflicts have long used songs to spread their messages and to create unity among their compatriots. Recent examples include the movement against the Vietnam war in the 1960s, the

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U.S. CIVIL RIGHTS MOVEMENT

Jacquelin C. Peters

In the early 1950s the continuing struggle of African Americans for basic human rights was directed toward winning crucial liberties long denied them — a good education and the vote. The NAACP sought to challenge the laws limiting educational opportunities by enlisting the legal strategies of African American attorneys such as the late Wiley Branton, who was to become Dean of the Howard University Law School, and Thurgood Marshall, currently a Chief Justice on the U.S. Supreme Court. The U.S. Supreme Court's *Brown vs. Board of Education* decision rendered in 1954 cited the sociological and psychological findings of Dr. Kenneth Clark and others who maintained that the *Plessy vs. Ferguson* "separate but equal" doctrine instituted in 1896 was harmful to both Black and White students. The justices ordered in 1955 that all children be admitted to tax-supported public schools "on a racially non-discriminatory basis with all deliberate speed."

Close on the heels of the *Brown* decision came a series of events which jolted the Civil Rights Movement into the nation's consciousness. Mrs. Rosa Parks' arrest for violating the bus segregation ordinance in Montgomery, Alabama, sparked the Montgomery Bus Boycott on December 5, 1955, four days after her detention. Rev. Martin Luther King, Jr., then 26 years old, was elected president of the Montgomery Improvement Association, the organization which organized the boycott. It took 386 days, but the city officials were finally convinced that integration of the buses was crucial to their economic health, and the bus boycott was discontinued. Three weeks later, the Southern Christian Leadership Conference (SCLC) was founded with Dr. King as president, and the forces that would guide his destiny as a charismatic leader and a national hero gained momentum.

When four black college students staged the first sit-in on February 1, 1960 at a Woolworth's lunch counter in Greensboro, North Carolina, a wave of similar student protests followed, sweeping the Deep South. The Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC), which provided many "foot soldiers" in the desegregation and voter registration efforts, was founded at Shaw University on April 15, 1960.

James Farmer of the Congress of Racial Equality (CORE) led the Freedom Riders on a Greyhound bus from Washington, D.C. on a perilous journey through Alabama and Mississippi. On "Bloody Sunday," March 7, 1965, the nation witnessed on television the assault of hundreds of peaceful demonstrators by



Spirits are high in this civil rights rally in an Alabama church. Freedom songs strengthened the resolve of non-violent demonstrators, who were prepared to encounter persecution and imprisonment. (Photo by Joe Alper, courtesy Dr. Bernice Johnson Reagon)

Alabama state troopers. One week later, the Johnson administration presented a voting rights bill before Congress. On August 6, 1965, President Lyndon B. Johnson signed the Voting Rights Act.

Song and eloquent oratory are integral to African American religious expression, and they were pervasive, spiritually sustaining elements of the U.S. Civil Rights Movement. In emotionally tense or physically threatening situations, the standard of non-violence and a serene attitude were maintained through song, prayer, and words of encouragement. Massive church rallies, picketing demonstrations and even jail houses echoed with the sounds of resolve, declaring, "Just like a tree standing by the water./ We shall not be moved."

Sacred African American music provided the basis for many freedom songs. One such spiritual, "I Will Be All Right," has evolved to become the universal anthem of protest, "We Shall Overcome." Techniques such as call and response, "worrying the line" (using melismatic vocal embellishments), or "lining out" a hymn (the song leader's singing or reciting the next line of verse before the end of the previous one)

are other retentions from traditional African American song.

Important contributions to the repertory of freedom songs were made by composers whose music sprang out of the Movement. The gifted Bertha Gober, one of the most prolific composers, sometimes received her inspirations while actively involved in demonstrations or while sitting in a jail cell; memories of those who were martyrs for the movement also provided histories for Ms. Gober and many others to put to music. Social contexts were established in song lyrics by naming the protagonists, antagonists, or locations where conflict was intense.

Grounded in the tradition of Black congregational song, choral quartets and ensembles transmitted the Movement's musical message to audiences far from the locale of the struggle. The Montgomery Gospel Trio, the American Baptist Theological Seminary Quartet — also known as the Nashville Quartet — and the CORE Singers proved to be solid songleading groups.

Nationwide support was garnered for SNCC through the works of four singers: Rutha Harris, Bernice Johnson, Charles Neblett, and Cordell Reagon, who organized the group known as the original SNCC Freedom Singers. Reagon delivered most of the interpretive information in performances which made the world sit up and take notice. Two other configurations of this group emerged: another group of Freedom Singers, followed by the Freedom Voices. This year's music stage features the original SNCC Freedom Singers with Ms. Bettie Mae Fikes standing in, as she has in the past, for Dr. Bernice Johnson Reagon. Ms. Fikes, originally of Selma, Alabama, is known as one of the strongest song leaders of the Civil Rights Movement.

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Been in the Storm So Long. Smithsonian. Folkways SF 40031.

Voices of the Civil Rights Movement: Black American Freedom Songs, 1960-1965. Smithsonian Collection of Recordings R023.

Sing for Freedom. Smithsonian Folkways SF+0032.



Singing freedom songs, marchers led by Stevie Wonder braved the elements in Washington, D.C. every January 15th until Congress passed a bill making Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr.'s birthday a legal holiday in 1983. (Photo by Sharon Farmer)

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songs of soldiers who served in Vietnam, the opposition to nuclear power in the 1970s and 1980s, the feminist movement, and the Latin American popular political music Nueva Cancion, among many others. The United States can boast of a long history of political songs, from the early 19th century up to the present. From Jefferson through Gerald Ford, with some notable examples from the Roosevelt years, political songs were published in newspapers and had the kind of exposure we now associate with mass media. The songs themselves were a direct expression of attempts to sway public opinion and votes by creating positive images of the candidates and supporting their policies (Folkways Records has several recordings of political songs from different eras).

Many songs of the Civil Rights Movement were based on African American church music. Some, like "We Shall Overcome" were only slightly altered hymns familiar to many of the participants. The performance style, audience participation, and importance of music in the Civil Rights Movement owed a great deal to the African American churches from which were derived much of the movement's organization and power, and also to the kind of mass actions in which the movement was engaged. Although the Civil Rights Movement adopted a doctrine of non-violent mass protest from Gandhi's non-violent independence movement in India, the Indian movement itself was not a particularly musical one. Church music was a cultural resource available in the U.S. Civil Rights Movement that was not available in multi-ethnic India.

CONCLUSION

Musical performances can be a part of social movements in a number of different ways. From marked silence through the revival of old musical forms to the composition of new genres, musical performances have both expressed and created feelings of community, have defined central concerns and aspirations, knit small communities together and projected messages to large international audiences. Music can be an effective resource for social movements because of the variety of ways it can be used — with subtlety or bluntness — and its ability to be heard in spite of censorship. Forged, transformed, and even abandoned in the crucible of struggle, music is part of the complex web of sounds and signs with which we experience and make history.

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Here are just a few references. The Denisoff bibliography is a good guide to the older sources; Pete Seeger's book includes many observations of a participant in a number of social movements; Elbourne's book is the best historical study of music I have run across; the

Greenway book is a classic; and *Sing Out!* magazine provides the words and music to many contemporary songs.

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A complete list of over 50 Folkways recordings related to this theme is available from the Office of Folklife Programs. The following are fairly easily available examples of a large discography:

Come All You Coal Miners. Rounder Records 4005.

Don't Mourn - Organize! Songs of Labor Songwriter Joe Hill. Smithsonian/Folkways Records 40026.

Sheshbue: The Sound of the Mines. Rounder Records 5031.

Sing For Freedom. Smithsonian/Folkways Records 40032.

Rebel Voices, Songs of the Industrial Workers of the World. Flying Fish 484.

Songs of Struggle and Celebration by Guy Carawan. Flying Fish 27272.

Woody Guthrie: Struggle. Smithsonian/Folkways Records 40025.

ISRAELIS AND PALESTINIANS

Amy Horowitz

Amy Horowitz, a Ph.D. candidate in Folklore at the University of Pennsylvania, received a grant from the D.C. Community Humanities Council in 1986 to do five radio shows on culture in disputed territories featuring Israeli and Palestinian protest artists. Amy has worked for Sweet Honey in the Rock since 1977 as artist representative.

Situated at the crossroad of East and West, the Middle East has been the site of struggle for millenium. For over 3,000 years, the land between the Mediterranean, the Jordan River and beyond, which now occupies the center of controversy for Israelis, Palestinians, Arabs and Jews has been called by many names, claimed by many peoples and occupied by countless foreign rulers. Many Israelis date their claim back to the Hebrew Kingdoms of Israel and Judea (722 B.C. - 70 A.D.) and even beyond. Palestinians point to indigenous inhabitants living in the area throughout history as well as a continuous Muslim majority since the 7th century A.D.

In the 19th century, during Ottoman Rule (1500-1917 A.D.), European nationalism began to capture the imagination of peoples throughout the world. This trend had a strong influence on both Arabs and Jews. Various Arab national movements emerged in response to occupation under the Ottomans. When the empire was divided up after World War I, Arab nationalists resisted European dominance and sought to create a unified Arab world under the banner of the Arabic language and a common regional heritage. For European Jewry, the nationalistic trend emerged in the form of Zionism calling for a return to their Biblical homeland. They hoped that in their historical birthplace self-determination would replace centuries of exile and victimization.

These two incompatible movements clashed during the British occupation of Palestine (1917-1948).

The dispute was intensified after Nazi annihilation of European Jews (1936-1945) resulted in greater numbers of Jews seeking refuge in Palestine. Arab and Palestinian nationalism increased in response to Jewish immigration and efforts to create a Jewish state.

After World War II, the United Nations Partition Plan divided the area (the size of New Jersey), into contiguous Palestinian and Israeli nations. Jewish leaders accepted the plan and the State of Israel was

proclaimed in 1948. Palestinians rejected any plan which established a Jewish state on Palestinian land. The result of this dispute was the 1948 Arab-Israeli War. Following Arab defeat, Israel expanded its territory allotted under partition, Jordan annexed the West Bank, and Egypt occupied the Gaza Strip.

During the 1948 War, vast numbers of Palestinians fled or were expelled from Israel, crossing borders into Jordan,

Lebanon and Egypt, where they became refugees in the West Bank, Gaza and surrounding Arab countries. Those Palestinians who remained became Israeli citizens. At the same time, thousands of Jews, escaping oppression in Europe and Arab countries arrived in Israel. The stage was set for continuing conflict.

Subsequent Arab-Israeli wars (1956, 1967, 1973, 1982) have intensified hostilities and further altered geo-political borders. Portions of Jordan and Egypt came under Israeli occupation after the 1967 war. These territories — the West Bank and Gaza — are the site of the current Palestinian uprising.



Thousands of Israeli Jews and Palestinians joined together to protest the election of Rabbi Meir Kahane to the Knesset in August, 1984. This demonstration took place in front of the Knesset on the first day Kahane arrived to take his place in Israel's Parliament. Protesters sang out against the racism and religious fanaticism that characterize Kahane's movement. The placards "Judaism — yes, coercion — no" and "Enlightened Judaism and Democracy" reflected mainstream Israeli opposition to Kahane which subsequently succeeded when he was barred from the Knesset and from elected office for racist activities. (Photo by Amy Horowitz)



Israeli Palestinian singer performs a peace song in Hebrew and Arabic at the "Women Go For Peace" Conference, January, 1990. The conference was organized by Jewish and Palestinian Israelis from the "Women's Peace Movement" in conjunction with several Palestinian women's organizations in the Occupied Territories. The agenda was peaceful co-existence, but the woman wears a raincoat in anticipation of being sprayed by police vehicles with dyed water used to disperse demonstrations (Photo by Amy Horowitz)

But these historical landmarks do not fully articulate the complexity of the conflict. Many sub-groups among Israelis and Palestinians express a variety of positions and claims to the area. Each position relies on its own historical justification of rights to the land. Some Israelis and Palestinians seek compromise as the only just way to resolve the crisis. A growing minority in Israel opposes the occupation and supports establishment of a Palestinian State next to Israel.

The conflict centers on the difficulty of reconciling conflicting claims to one piece of land. Israeli claims portray the sole Jewish country surrounded by dozens of hostile Arab nations. Palestinian claims portray a stateless people dislocated by a hostile foreign presence. Cultural, political and religious passions are rooted deeply in this rocky soil that is held sacred by Judaism, Christianity and Islam.

A story is told in which an Israeli and a Palestinian went to visit a wise old woman. They asked her who owned the land they both claim. She put her ear down next to this restless soil and then turned to them and said: "Do you know what the land told me? That she belongs to neither of you but that you both belong to her."

Sabreen ("patience"), formed in 1980 and based in eastern Jerusalem, has been making music under conditions of Israeli occupation. Since 1987, the beginning of the Intifada — the uprising organized by Palestinians against the Israeli occupation of the West Bank and Gaza — the band members report that it has been more difficult to acquire space for rehearsals, recording sessions, and performances. After they made sacrifices to finance the production of their two cassettes, sales on the West Bank were restricted by laws enacted to prevent trade between Palestinians in Jerusalem and in the other occupied territories. "We are not a direct threat to the authorities, because our songs are indirect in their message, but we are one of the threads that ties the Palestinian people together, so in that sense we are a threat" (Lems 1990). The growing numbers and enthusiastic response of their audiences in Jerusalem, the United States and Europe seem to nevertheless confirm the power of music to extend beyond governmentally imposed boundaries.

Traditional music and poetic forms of Arabian and Middle Eastern cultures provide the backbone for what they call their Palestinian "new song." Traditional instrumentation — stringed instruments including zither, bozuk, oud, and an array of percussion instruments — is augmented with guitar and bass. Vocalist Kamilya Jubran of Galilee sings in the melismatic style of classic Arabian music. The song lyrics are written by local poets and express contemporary Palestinian reality with the context of traditional Arab poetry. The fusion of past and present



Thousands strong, Palestinian and Israeli women joined by European and American supporters marched together across the invisible but very real boundary between West Jerusalem and East Jerusalem. This march represented an historical landmark at the outset of the 1990s as Arabs and Jews in the thousands together crossed over the border that divides their communities. The placards "Negotiate now with the PLO" are messages conveyed by women protesting the occupation of territories held by Israel since the 1967 war (Photo by Amy Horowitz)

affirms the inclusiveness and unity of the culture they champion. "We are creating tomorrow's folk songs and traditions," remarks bozuk player Oden Turujman.

Although the music calls for a response in movement, the poetic imagery demands contemplation: I tell the world, I tell,

About the house whose lamp is broken,
About the axe which destroyed a lily,
About the fire that burned a braid. . .

(from "The Smoke of Volcanoes," written by Samih al-Qassem)

A verse from a different song employs the symbolism of the fertile land and affirms, "The valley will become full with new clusters of wheat." Both lamentation and celebration have the aim of making a "cultural contribution to the morale and education of their people" (Lems 1990).

Sara (Shuv) Alexander, born in Jerusalem, Palestine before the creation of Israel in 1948, raised on a kibbutz near Haifa, half Sephardic, half Ashkenazi, exhibited both a musical and independent spirit from a young age. She began playing the accordion at age thirteen. The same fiery spirit carried her through her service with the Nahal Entertainment Troupe of the Israel Defense Forces.

Alexander is an Israeli peace activist and singer/composer. In the 1960s, she was one of the first Israeli Jews to lend her voice to protest her country's policies regarding the Palestinian question. In the 1970s, "banned from the airwaves" in Israel, she left to live in France. She considers herself a member of the Israeli "Peace Now" group and travels to Israel to perform and participate in dialogue and demonstrations. "There are no good occupations" she says. About the confiscation of Palestinian land she sings the song of the almond trees that cry, "For such a long time the tears of the Arab people have watered the earth, it does not surprise us that the fruits are bitter." At the same time, Alexander addresses the oppression and persecution of Jewish people throughout history.

Sara has helped to organize Jewish-Arab music festivals in Europe and has performed with Palestinian musician Imad Saleh in the United States. She says, "It is necessary that Israelis and Palestinians recognize each other at last. The dialogue is essential."

Her songs and poems draw on historical references to Arabs and Jews, personal experience with Palestinians and Israelis, and images of her native land. In this way they are similar to Palestinian protest poetry that also draws heavily on natural imagery of the region. The song texts give voice to her con-

viction that for Palestinian and Israeli the solution must be "two peoples, two states, one future." In the song "My Brother and I" she says:

Thousands of years ago

Between the waves of sand and the palm trees,

We led our sheep together to the water.

Since the water has flowed in the Jordan,

We have been born brother and sister,

Blessed by the sea and by the shade of the olive tree.

It is said that without roots the tree dies.

It is said that without hope the heart stops.

... How much time, how much blood

Must be spilled until we learn

To forget our past errors and find the road to peace?

Sara's musical heritage combines folk melodies inherited from her Turkish mother and Eastern European traditions from her Rumanian father with traditional and contemporary Arabic and Jewish influences of her childhood in Palestine and Israel. These are blended with western elements to create a music combining traditional and contemporary ingredients. Sara performs with guitar and accordion and sings in six languages: Hebrew, French, Arabic, Yiddish, English and Spanish.

CITATIONS AND FURTHER READINGS

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Eban, Abba. 1984. *Heritage: Civilization and the Jews*. New York: Summit Books.

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SUGGESTED LISTENING

Palestine Lives! Songs from the Struggle of the People of Palestine. Paredon P 1022.

Sara Alexander. *Peace, Shalom, Salam, Paix*. Sapem Sap 212.

SILENCE AS PROTEST

Silence. Not all societies have protest songs. Some use silence. Silence doesn't express much unless everyone *else* is making noise. But there are some situations (singing a national anthem, a school song, a required chorus) when silence can be a statement of opposition. In some societies silence is more elaborately used.

Among the Suyá Indians of central Brazil, dissatisfaction was often expressed by non-participation. Living among them for two years, I never heard a lullaby or a work song, much less a protest song. Even direct verbal confrontation was relatively rare — anger was expressed through silence. All music was ceremonial; all song texts were said to be “revealed” rather than composed by human beings. Complete community participation in ceremonies was considered “beautiful” and good. But if a person was angry (and anger was sometimes related to politics) he could sing along without enthusiasm (a weak but public form of protest), go out fishing when everyone else was singing (a stronger form of protest), or sit silently and refuse to sing at all (a strong public declaration of anger). Each of these attitudes would be noticed and mentioned. Silence was protest in this society where music itself was only used as a statement of community.

SINGING AN OLD SONG IN NEW CIRCUMSTANCES

Members of a social group engaged in political struggle sometimes perform traditional songs without changing them at all — neither lyrics nor music refer directly to their struggle. It is rather the larger context of the performance that lends political significance to the event and makes the unaltered traditional music a music of struggle. Many American Indian communities maintain traditional musical styles in spite of intense political and cultural pressures. Few if any protest song movements grow out of their traditional musical forms. Instead the songs are sung as they have been. Performing traditional music and speaking local languages not only recalls a past when that was normal, but can be a strong statement that the present situation is wrong and that the future should embody continuities from the past in these and other ways.

Unaltered traditions performed in situations of very severe oppression attest that simply maintaining an old tradition is itself part of a larger struggle for survival. To many North and South American Indian communities, whose social, political, and religious institutions have been suppressed for centuries, the musical performances have complex meanings. But to people outside the society the message is often, “we continue to survive” and “we are not completely members of the surrounding society.”

QUICHUA

Jacquelin C. Peters

Chimborazo, the 20,000 foot apex of the Andes Mountain range in Ecuador, is an extinct volcano in the center of the country. On this mountain live an indigenous people known as the Quichua. Indigenous empires (Cara, Inca), the Spanish colonial rule (from 1526 to 1830), and long-standing border disputes with Peru, which sits east and south of Ecuador, have come and gone. Enduring are the *campesinos* of Chimborazo Province. A quarter of a million people, they are the largest group of Native Americans in the country. They are also among the most poverty-stricken peoples in South America.

They have endured exploitation for generations through a hacienda system which has resulted in general illiteracy, financial dependence, and social marginalization. Efforts by national and international organizations to improve these conditions have not always been successful, especially when they have failed to take into account the social and cultural contexts of development. Productive efforts to assist the campesinos have been spawned by grassroots organizations with a deeper perception of what was needed and how best to communicate with their compatriots.

Feria Educativa, "Educational Fair," was a seminal group in these latter development efforts. Formed in 1974, the Feria formulated an agenda of goals identified by the campesinos themselves. The Feria's training programs have included some 100 musical performance groups; the Feria has sponsored four festivals of traditional music and dance, produced three cassettes, and generated many pamphlets on the local folk arts and historical lore. Bakeries, artisan-managed workshops, community centers, and

reforestation projects have proliferated thanks to Feria Educativa's collective efforts.

Music and skits have been used to foster a dialogue with campesinos during the more than 750 community tours that Feria Educativa has been invited to undertake in the last 11 years. Singing in their indigenous Quichua language and wearing traditional clothing, the members of the troupe perform to encourage creation of and participation in a community defined by shared culture. After this, the business

of collectively identifying and solving problems begins. One skit that draws nods of recognition from the crowd enacts the dilemma of an unschooled campesino unable to read an important letter and dependent on an unscrupulous person who misinterprets the information. Following the performance, an enthusiastic community usually hosts



Feria Educativa performs a skit depicting campesinos riding on a bus. Music and drama are used to engage Quichua communities in discussions on development needs and strategies. (Photo by Julia Weise-Vargas, courtesy Inter-American Foundation)

the visiting group until the wee hours of the morning.

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SUGGESTED LISTENING

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JOE HILL: UNION ORGANIZING

Some of the most famous songs of struggle in the United States were written during labor conflicts from the mid 19th century up to the present.

Joe Hill (1879-1915) was a songwriter for the Industrial Workers of the World (I.W.W.), a radical movement in the early 20th century committed to the formation of a worldwide workers' organization: One Big Union. His songs described struggles with strikebreakers ("Casey Jones — The Union Scab"), the plight of the homeless and unemployed ("The Tramp"), the economic base of prostitution ("The White Slave"), and charity organizations that help support an oppressive status quo ("The Preacher and the Slave"). His execution in Utah on November 19, 1915, for murder, a charge his supporters considered a class-oriented conspiracy, raised Joe Hill to powerful symbolic status within the labor movement. Many songs and poems were subsequently written about him, among them, "Joe Hill," "Joe Hill's Ashes," and "Joe Hill Listens to the Praying." Both as a songwriter and as the subject of songs, Joe Hill continues to be an important figure in United States labor history.

In a letter to the editor of the I.W.W. newspaper *Solidarity*, from the Salt Lake County Jail, Joe Hill told why he wrote songs as tools for organizing:

A pamphlet, no matter how good, is never read more than once, but a song is learned by heart and repeated over and over, and I maintain that if a person can put a few cold, common sense facts into a song, and dress them up in a cloak of humor to take the dryness off of them, he will succeed in reaching

a great number of workers who are too unintelligent or too indifferent to read a pamphlet or an editorial on economic science.

There is one thing that is necessary in order to hold the old members and to get the would-be members interested in the class struggle and that is entertainment. November 29, 1914.

Seventy-five years after his death, the name Joe Hill is not as widely known as his influence is felt. But Joe Hill remains an inspiration and a model for many songwriters and performers who organize through music.

Smithsonian/Folkways Records, in conjunction with the 1990 Festival of American Folklife and the Joe Hill Organizing Committee of Salt Lake City, Utah, has issued an album of songs by and about Joe Hill that illustrates his skill as a songwriter and shows his influence on the international labor movement: *Don't Mourn — Organize! Songs of Labor Songwriter Joe Hill* (SF 40026, available on CD, LP and cassette).

Anthony Seeger is curator of the Folkways Collection and Director of Folkways Records in the Office of Folklife Programs. He was previously employed at the Museu Nacional in Rio de Janeiro (1975-1982) and Indiana University (1982-1988). Anthropologist, ethnomusicologist and archivist, Dr. Seeger is the author of three books and many articles on the social organization, cosmology and musical performances of the Suyá Indians of Brazil. He was exposed to musics of struggle from early childhood and has performed them as part of his participation in a number of social processes.

"THE TROUBLES" IN IRELAND

Jacquelin C. Peters

*'Tis Ireland, my country, the birthplace of heroes,
The home of the patriot, warrior and sage,
Of bards and of chieftains, whose names live in
story;
May they live forever, on history's page.
You once were a proud and glorious nation,
Your name and your fame were known all over the
world,
'Til misfortune came o'er you and sad desolation,
Your moral banner in slavery lay unfurled.
(excerpt from "My Own Native Land," a tradi-
tional song)*

"The troubles" is the euphemism used in Ireland to refer to the host of problems attending the conflict over British presence in that land. Irish history provides ample themes for music of struggle sung in the *scan-nos* ("old") style. There is much historical commentary on politics, persecution and the love and longing for the land; but there is also a wealth of contemporary expressions that address the tragedies of occupation and civil war, the loss of family members, and the corruption of childhood innocence. The old repertoire, never abandoned and therefore never subjected to a "revival," provides historical context for the new songs that chronicle current events destined to become part of traditional lore.

Musicians who compose and perform traditional Irish songs of struggle include Paddy Tunney, a masterful singer and participant at the 1976 Festival of American Folklife; Tommy Sands, renowned songwriter who expresses reconciliatory themes; Dermot Henry, a singer of "rebel songs" now residing in New York; and Cathie Ryan-Henry, also based in New York and possessed of an excellent voice and trained by her parents in the old style. Composer Christy

Moore, whose reputation in Ireland is comparable to that of the late Woody Guthrie in America, has written a wealth of songs on many social issues.

Frank Harte, the All-Ireland Champion singer from Chapelizod in Dublin, has a repertoire of over 8,000 songs. Son of a "pub" proprietor and an architect by profession, Mr. Harte was introduced to traditional Irish songs by a fateful encounter with a man selling sheet music at a fair. This began a life-long passion for collecting songs and for the culture that goes with them.

CITATIONS AND FURTHER READINGS

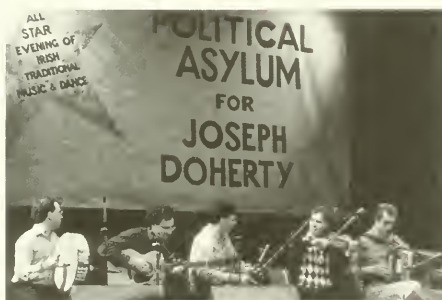
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Moore, Christy. 1984. *The Christy Moore Songbook*. Dover, New Hampshire: Brandon Book Publishers.

Harte, Frank, ed. (In press). *Songs of Dublin*. Cork, Ireland: Ossian Publishers.



Traditional Irish music and dance were performed at a benefit concert in New York City in February, 1990. Performing are (left to right) Myron Breibolz — bodhran (Irish drum), Mark Simon — guitar, Jerry O'Sullivan — uilleann pipes, Seamus Connolly — fiddle, James Keane — Irish accordion. (Photo by Sarah Towle)

SUGGESTED LISTENING

Harte, Frank. *Daybreak and a Candle-End*. SPIN 995.

_____. *And Listen to My Song*. SPIN 994.

Men of No Property. *Ireland: The Final Struggle*. Paredon P 1039.

Moloney, Mick, Robbie O'Connell & Jimmy Keane. *Kilkelly*. Green Linnet Records CSIF 1072.

Moloney, Mick, Jimmy Keane, Robbie O'Connell, and Liz Carroll. *There Were Roses*. Green Linnet Records CSIF 1057.

CHICANO FARM WORKERS' MOVEMENT

Jacquelin C. Peters

The San Joaquin Valley of California is a major agricultural center. Its abundant harvests are enjoyed by many Americans — unaware of the substandard working and living conditions endured by migrant workers who gather the crops. The many undocumented immigrants from Mexico included in the ranks of the farmworkers refrained from complaining and risking arrest and deportation. The children of these farmworkers were caught in a situation in which they could not get an adequate education, if they went to school at all; they were destined to remain in a cycle of poverty which their parents had come to America to escape.

This situation prompted the campaign to organize the workers and the strike headed by Cesar Chavez of the United Farmworkers of America in the 1960s. Americans were informed about the plight of these workers and were urged to boycott California produce until employers of migrant workers provided better living and working conditions. The beginning of the strike was depressing to the workers. Picketing families faced having even fewer resources to support themselves. Ramon "Chunky" Sanchez of the music group, Los Alacranes, related how he, his brother and a few other musicians brought their guitars with them to the picket lines one day and played old tunes to cheer up their fellow strikers. Seeing the rousing effect music had, they decided to bring their instruments every day, but they soon tired of playing the same songs. This led to their improvising lyrics about the boycott.

The Valdez Brothers — Luis and Daniel — co-founded El Teatro Campesino with Agustin Lira during the Great Delano Grape Strike in 1965. Together they led the artistic component of the farmworkers' movement, writing songs and plays about the boycott, and winning the Off Broadway "Obie" award for "creating a worker's theatre to demonstrate the politics of survival."

Lira, a featured artist at this year's Festival, was

born of migrant farmworkers in Torreon Coahuila, Mexico, spending his first years in Torreon, Juarez, Texas and New Mexico. By the time he was seven, his family had settled in the San Joaquin Valley. His early education took place on the migrant path, and formal musical training began in high school. After leaving El Teatro Campesino in 1969, Lira took an independent direction. He established four other theater groups before El Teatro de la Tierra, which he began in East Los Angeles and incorporated later in rural Fresno, California in 1974. Together with his group, Alma, Lira presents the story of the Chicano experience in song and narrative.

CITATIONS AND FURTHER READINGS

Levy, Jack. 1975. *Cesar Chavez: Autobiography of La Causa*. New York: W. W. Norton & Co.

Ross, Fred. 1990. *Conquering the Lion*. Keene, CA: United Farmworkers of America.

SUGGESTED LISTENING

Los Alacranes. *Picando*. Alacran Publishing 1989.

El Teatro Campesino. *Huelga En General! Songs of the United Farm Workers*. El Centro Campesino Cultural TC 1352.

Jacquelin Celeste Peters was an Arts Administration Fellow for the National Endowment for the Arts, and has served as an evaluator for NEA's Folk Arts and Expansion Arts programs. She is a consultant scholar for the D.C. Community Humanities Council, and compiled the premier edition of the "African American Folklorists Directory" for the Office of Folklife Programs.

As an independent radio producer she received grants from NEA and from National Public Radio's Satellite Program Development Fund to produce programs on popular African music.

1990 FESTIVAL OF AMERICAN FOLKLIFE

JUNE 27-JULY 1/JULY 4-JULY 8



Smithsonian Institution/National Park Service

GENERAL INFORMATION

FESTIVAL HOURS

Opening ceremonies for the Festival will be held on the Main Music Stage in the Musics of Struggle area at 11:00 a.m. Wednesday, June 27th. Thereafter, Festival hours will be 11:00 a.m. to 5:30 p.m. daily, with dance parties every evening 5:30 to 7:00 p.m., except July 4th.

HORARIO DEL FESTIVAL

La ceremonia de apertura al Festival se celebrará en el escenario del Programa de "Musics of Struggle," el 27 de junio a las 11:00 A.M. A partir de ese día, las horas del Festival serán de 11:00 a.m. a las 5:30 p.m. diariamente, con baile cada noche, excepto el 4 de julio, de 5:30 p.m. a 7:00 P.M.

HORAIRE DU FESTIVAL

Les cérémonies d'ouverture du Festival auront lieu sur la scène musicale principale de "Musics of Struggle," à 11h., mercredi, le 27 juin. Après cela, les heures du Festival seront de 11h. à 17h.30 chaque jour, avec des soirées dansantes de 17h.30 à 19h., sauf le 4 juillet.

SALES

Traditional food from Senegal and the U.S. Virgin Islands and traditional Memphis bar-b-que will be sold. See the site map for locations.

A variety of crafts, books and Smithsonian/Folkways Records relating to the 1990 Festival programs will be sold in Museum Shops areas on the Festival site.

PRESS

Visiting members of the press should register at the Festival Press tent on the Mall near Madison Drive and 12th Street.

FIRST AID

A first aid station will be available near the Administration area on the

Mall. The Health Units in the Museums of American History and Natural History are open from 10:00 a.m. to 5:30 p.m.

PRIMEROS AUXILIOS

Una unidad de primeros auxilios se instalará cerca del área de la Administración. Las unidades de salud en los museos de Historia Norteamericana y de Historia Natural estarán abiertos desde las 10:00 a.m. hasta las 5:30 p.m.

POSTES DE SECOURS

Une unité mobile des postes de secours sera située près de l'Administration. Les services de santé des Musée de l'Histoire Américaine et l'Histoire Naturelle sont ouverts de 10h. à 17h.30.

REST ROOMS/ TELEPHONES

There are outdoor facilities for the public and disabled visitors located near all of the program areas on the Mall. Additional rest room facilities are available in each of the museum buildings during visiting hours.

Public telephones are available on the site, opposite the Museums of American History and Natural History, and inside the Museums.

LOST AND FOUND/LOST CHILDREN AND PARENTS

Lost items may be turned in or retrieved at the Volunteer tent in the Administration area. Lost family members may be claimed at the Volunteer tent also.

PERSONAS Y OBJETOS PERDIDO

Las personas que hayan perdido a sus niños o a familiares pueden pasar por la carpa para voluntarios, en el área de la Administración por ellos. Los objetos encontrados o extraviados podrán entregarse o reclamarse en dicha carpa.

OBJET PERDUS/ PERSONNES PERDUES

Les objets trouvés ou perdus peuvent être remis ou réclamés à la tente

des volontaires. Si un membre de famille est perdu, veuillez vous adresser à la tente des volontaires.

METRO STATIONS

Metro trains will be running every day of the Festival. The Festival site is easily accessible to either the Smithsonian or Federal Triangle stations on the Blue and Orange lines.

SERVICES FOR DISABLED VISITORS

Two sign-language interpreters are on site every day at the Festival. Check the printed schedule and signs for interpreted programs. Oral interpreters are available for individuals if a request is made three full days in advance. Call (202) 357-1696 (TDD) or (202) 357-1697 (voice). An audio-loop amplification system for people who are hard of hearing is installed at the Music Stage of the Musics of Struggle area.

Large-print copies of the daily schedule and audiocassette versions of the program book and schedule are available free of charge at Festival information kiosks and the Volunteer tent.

Wheelchairs are available at the Festival Volunteer tent. Volunteers are on call to assist wheelchair users and to guide visually handicapped visitors. There are a few designated parking spaces for disabled visitors along both Mall drives. These spaces have three hour time restrictions.

EVENING DANCE PARTIES

Musical groups playing traditional dance music will perform every evening, 5:30-7:00 p.m., except July 4th, at the Music Stage in the Musics of Struggle area.

PROGRAM BOOK

Background information on the cultural traditions of Senegal, the folklife of the U.S. Virgin Islands and Musics of Struggle is available in the *Festival of American Folklife Program Book*, on sale for \$2.00 at the Festival site or by mail from the Office of Folklife Programs, Smithsonian Institution, 955 L'Enfant Plaza, S.W., Suite 2600, Washington, D.C. 20560.

PARTICIPANTS IN THE 1990 FESTIVAL OF AMERICAN FOLKLIFE

UNITED STATES VIRGIN ISLANDS

Performance Traditions

Blinky & The Roadmasters - Scratch Band

Anselmo Clarke, squash - Frederiksted, St. Croix

Norman Edwards, trap drums - Frederiksted, St. Croix

Milton "Meg" Gordon, bass guitar - Frederiksted, St. Croix

Isidor "I.G." Griles, triangle - Frederiksted, St. Croix

Cyprian "Zip" King, guitar - Kingshill, St. Croix

Sylvester "Blinky" McIntosh Sr., alto saxophone - Frederiksted, St. Croix

Ira "Baker/Dormis" Samuel, alto saxophone - Frederiksted, St. Croix

Lloyd "Perico" Thomas, conga - Frederiksted, St. Croix

Calypsonians

Kenneth "Lord Blakie" Blake, calypso/ composer - St. Thomas

Ashley "Ashanti" George, calypso/ agriculturist - St. Thomas

Camille "King Derby" Macedon Jr., banjo uke - St. Croix

Cariso Singers

Ethel McIntosh - St. Croix

Leona Watson - Frederiksted, St. Croix

Carnival Traditions

Cecile "Dallars" George, drumming/ carpentry - St. Thomas

Willard John, *moko jumbie* - Frederiksted, St. Croix

Clement Cain Magras, storytelling - St. Thomas

John McCleverty, *moko jumbie* - St. Thomas

Milo & The Kings - Brass and Calypso
Anthony Crooke, bass - St. Thomas

Emile "Milo" Francis, keyboards/ leader - St. Thomas

Nya "Cocky" Francis, drums - St. Thomas

James Gerard, vocals bass - St. Thomas

Herman Lynch, congo - St. Thomas

Roy Malone, guitar - St. Thomas

Ira "Dr. Sax" Meyers, saxophone - St. Thomas

Rudolph Thomas, vocals - St. Thomas
Collins Wesselhoft, trumpet - St. Thomas

Pleneros de Santa Cruz - Plena

Nicolas "Colilla" Encarnacion, guitar - Fredriksted, St. Croix

Amador Felix, bongo - Christiansted, St. Croix

Salvador "Salva" Fragosa, *cuatro* - Kingshill, St. Croix

Guillermo Muñoz, guitar/*cuatro* - St. Croix

Francisco Sanchez, *pandereta* - Kingshill, St. Croix

Marceleno Santiago, *pandereta* - St. Croix

St. Croix Heritage Dancers - Quadrille
Bradley Christian, quadrille calling/

masquerading - Frederiksted, St. Croix

Theresa Douglas, dancing - Frederiksted, St. Croix

Ann Doute, dancing - Frederiksted, St. Croix

George Fachete, dancing - Frederiksted, St. Croix

Gordon Finch, dancing - Frederiksted, St. Croix

Patricia Forup, dancing - Frederiksted, St. Croix

Prudence Morris, dancing - Frederiksted, St. Croix

Marcus Mulligan, dancing - Frederiksted, St. Croix

Robert Pennyfellow, dancing - Frederiksted, St. Croix

Craig Wells, dancing - Frederiksted, St. Croix

Yvonne Williams, dancing - Frederiksted, St. Croix

Patricia Willson, dancing - Frederiksted, St. Croix

Storytellers

Delta Dorsch, storytelling - Frederiksted, St. Croix

Eulalie Rivera, storytelling - Frederiksted, St. Croix

Ector Roebuck, storytelling/games - St. Thomas

Elmo Roebuck, storytelling/games - St. Thomas

Rufus Vanderpool, oral histories - North Star Village, St. Thomas

Ten Sleepless Nighbts - Scratch Band and Quadrille

Kenneth Buntin, guitar - Kingshill, St. Croix

Eldred "Edgie" Christian, banjo/vocals - Kingshill, St. Croix

Stanley "Escascolay" Jacobs, flute/ saxophone - Christiansted, St. Croix

Robert "Bobby" Jacobs, conga - Christiansted, St. Croix

Lawrence "Thrushy" Mason, squash - Kingshill, St. Croix
 Beneth Smith, bass - Kingshill, St. Croix
 Christian "Te" Thompson, triangle/steel - Christiansted, St. Croix

Occupational Traditions

Kenneth Broome, carpentry/furniture making - Charlotte Amalie, St. Thomas
 Reginald Callwood, stone masonry - Cruz Bay, St. John
 Richard Callwood, woodcarving/can- ing/toy making - St. Thomas
 James Dalmida, fishing - Coral Bay, St. John
 Anthon Emanuel, broom making/ masonry - St. Thomas
 Elmira Farrell, herbal medicine - St. Thomas
 Eddie Foy, gardening/charcoal making - Coral Bay, St. John
 Arnaldo Kennings, carpentry/construc- tion - Charlotte Amalie, St. Thomas
 Joe LaPlace, fishing - St. Thomas
 Oscar McGregor, fishing/fishpot mak- ing - Christiansted, St. Croix
 Wendell Nibbs, herbal medicine - St. Thomas
 Iantha Peets, herbal medicine - St. Thomas
 Arona Petersen, herbal medicine/oral histories - Ft. Lauderdale, Florida
 Gabriel St. Jules, charcoal making/ gardening - Frederiksted, St. Croix
 Sanderilla Thomas, market woman/ storytelling - Charlotte Amalie, St. Thomas
 Will Thurland, carpentry/inlaying/ caning - Christiansted, St. Croix

Crafts

Felicia Caines, basketry/herbalist - Coral Bay, St. John
 Dorothy Danet, basketry/hat weaving - St. Thomas
 Aline Kean, toymaking - Charlotte Amalie, St. Thomas
 Louisa Kean, crochet/embroidery - Charlotte Amalie, St. Thomas
 Hillary "Baga" Rezende, steelpan mak- ing - Christiansted, St. Croix

Foodways

Helmie Leonard, baking/cooking - St. Thomas
 Louise Samuel, native foods/bever- ages - Frederiksted, St. Croix

Evarista Santiago, Puerto Rican cook- ing - Kingshill, St. Croix

Carnival Troupes

Birds in Ecstasy, University of the Virgin Islands
 Cool Session Brass
 Elskoe and Associates, Let's Dance
 Hugga Bunch
 Imagination Brass
 Jesters as Mask Array
 Moko Jumbi 'n' Fren Dem
 Mungo Niles Cultural Dancers, Inc.
 Out of the Woodwork
 The Racketeers

SENEGAL

Performance Traditions

Bassari Ensemble
 Gaherademy Bindia, dancing/doll making/bead working - Kedougou - Bassari
 Thiandenine Bindia, musician/danc- ing/doll making/bead working - Kedougou - Bassari
 Indego Bowang, dancing/doll mak- ing/bead working - Kedougou - Bassari

Bobo Baldé Ensemble

Bobo Baldé, *riti* (violin)/vocals - Kolda - Peul
 Boure Baldé, *riti* (violin) - Kolda - Peul
 Tala Kandé, dancing - Kolda - Peul
 Amadou Sabaly, *riti* (violin)/dancing - Kolda - Peul

Diola-Balante Ensemble

Fatou Diatta, dancing - Dakar - Diola
 Landing Diatta, dancing - Dakar - Diola
 Bakary Diedhiou, drums - Ziguinchor - Diola
 Bourama Mané, *balaphon* - Kolda - Bija Balante
 Lamine Mané, vocals/dancing/netmak- ing - Dakar - Diola
 Mamadou Mansaly, drums/dancing - Dakar - Bija Balante

El Oumar Thiam

Arona Ba, drums - Kaolack - Toucou- leur
 Aissatou Dieng, dancing - Kaolack - Toucouleur
 Samba Diop, drums - Kaolack - Serer

Mariétou N'Diaye, dancing/cooking - Kaolack - Serer
 El Oumar Thiam, drums - Kaolack - Wolof

Feede Ganni

Amayel M'Baye, *yela*/hair braiding - Dakar - Toucouleur
 Boudy Seck, vocals/dancing/cooking - Dakar - Toucouleur
 Souadou Seck, *yela* - Dakar - Toucouleur
 Fily Sock, vocals/dancing/*foudann* - Dakar - Toucouleur

Lambe Wrestling

Mamadou M'Baye Diouf, *lambe* wres- tling/building construction - Thies - Serer
 Sidy Sary, *lambe* wrestling/building construction - Fatick - Serer

Wolof Sabar Drumming & Dance

Serigne M'Baye, dancing - Dakar - Wolof
 Abdou N'Diaye, drums/dancing - Dakar - Serer
 Ibra Seck, dancing/drums - Dakar - Wolof

Griots (Oral History and Praise Singing):

Ciré Yene Demba Doro Ba, *boddu* (lute)/vocals - Kolda - Peul
 Amadou N'Diaye Samb, vocals/*balam* (lute) - Dakar - Wolof

Manding Kora Ensemble:

Mama Cissokho, vocals/cooking - Ziguinchor - Manding
 Ibrahima Diebaté, *kora* - M'Bour, Thies
 Kémo Diebaté, *griot kora* - Ziguinchor - Manding
 Mame Yaye Kanouté, *kora*/vocals - Dakar - Manding

Yandé Codou Ensemble:

Khady Dione, vocals/dancing - Kaolack - Serer
 Fatou Gningue, vocals/dancing - Kaolack - Serer
 Adama M'Baye, vocals/dancing - Kaolack - Serer
 Aida M'Baye, vocals/dancing - Kaolack - Serer
 Tabasky M'Baye, drums - Kaolack - Serer
 Yandé Codou Sene, vocals - Kaolack - Serer

Crafts

Astou Adjé, hair braiding - New York
- Lebou
Salamba Adjé, hair braiding - New
York - Lebou
Amadou Lamine Diba, tailoring/em-
broidery - Dakar - Wolof
Albino Gomis, weaving - Dakar -
Manjack
Dame Gueye, glass painting/carpen-
try/doll making - Dakar - Wolof
Demba Guisse, basket making - Dakar
- Wolof
Khadydiatou Samassa, dyeing/cooking
- Dakar - Soninke
Victor Sagna, weaving - Dakar -
Manjack
Abdoulaye "Gadiaga" Sene, woodcarv-
ing - Dakar - Laobe/Peul
Khadiyatou Sow, perfumery - Dakar -
Laobe/Peul
Mandjata Tandian, dyeing - Dakar -
Soninke
Cheikh Thiam, leather working -
Dakar - Wolof
Masseyni Thiam, blacksmithing -
Dakar - Wolof
Nima Thiam, blacksmithing - St.Louis -
Soninke

Foodways

Anta Diop, cooking - New York -
Wolof
Maimouna N'Diaye, cooking/dancing/
foudann - Fatick - Wolof

MUSICS OF STRUGGLE

Agustin Lira & "Alma" - Chicano
Music
David Gomez, percussion - Fresno,
California
Agustin Lira, rhythm guitar/lead vocals
- Fresno, California
Mike Madrigal, upright bass -
Redwood City, California
Harold Muñiz, congas/timbales -
Sacramento, California
Ismael Rodriguez, percussion/vocals -
Oakland, California
Patricia Wells Solórzano, guitar/vocals
- Fresno, California
"Deaf President Now" Movement -
Music of the Hearing Impaired
Bridgetta Bourne, storytelling -
Walkersville, Maryland

Gerald Covell, storytelling -
Washington, D.C.
Mary Malzkuhn, storytelling - New
Carrollton, Maryland
Barbara Riggs, storytelling - Greenbelt,
Maryland
Steve Ryan, storytelling - College Park,
Maryland

Feria Educativa - Quichua Music
Carlos Ajitimbay Cruz, *cuerdas* per-
cussion - Riobamba, Ecuador
María Natividad Ajitimbay Cruz, gui-
tar/vocals - Riobamba, Ecuador
Juan Pablo Aucancela, *cuerdas* per-
cussion - Riobamba, Ecuador
José Manuel León Bastidas, percus-
sion/guitar/*charango* -
Riobamba, Ecuador
Victor Manuel León Bastidas, *cuerdas*/
percussion - Riobamba, Ecuador
Manuel Morochco Gualán, *cuerdas*/
viento/percussion - Riobamba,
Ecuador
Pedro Pablo Cayambe Morocho,
viento/*cuerdas*/percussion -
Riobamba, Ecuador
Paula Paca Simbaña, percussion/
vocals - Riobamba, Ecuador

Freedom Singers - Music of the U.S.
Civil Rights Movement
Bettie Mae Fikes, vocals/tambourine -
Carson, California
Rutha Harris, vocals/tambourine -
Albany, Georgia
Charles Neblett, vocals/tambourine -
Russellville, Kentucky
Cordell Reagon, vocals/tambourine -
Berkeley, California

Hazel Dickens & Friends - U.S. Coal
Miners' Music
Tom Adams, banjo - Westminster,
Maryland
Dudley Connell, guitar - Germantown,
Maryland
Hazel Dickens, guitar/vocals -
Washington, D.C.
Tad Marks, fiddle - Ellicott City,
Maryland
Dave McLaughlin, mandolin -
Winchester, Virginia
Barry Mitterhoff, mandolin - Paterson,
New Jersey
Richard Underwood, banjo -
Rockville, Maryland

Marshall Wilborn, bass - Winchester,
Virginia
Earl Yager, bass - Codorus,
Pennsylvania

Irish Music

Frank Harte, vocals - Chapelizod,
Dublin
Mick Moloney, guitar - Philadelphia,
Pennsylvania

Israeli Music

Sarah Alexander, accordion/guitar/
vocals - Paris, France

Kurdish Music

Temo Ezzadin, *tambour*/vocals - Paris,
France

Sabreen - Palestinian Music
Yacoub Abou Arafah, percussion -
Jerusalem, Israel
Issa Freij, guitar - Jerusalem, Israel
Kamilya Jubran, vocals/zither -
Jerusalem, Israel
Said Murad, composer/lute -
Jerusalem, Israel
Raed Saadeh, manager - Jerusalem,
Israel
Odeh Turjman, *bouzouki* - Jerusalem,
Israel

South African Double Quartet Music

Sipho Bavuma, idiophone/vocals -
Jersey City, New Jersey
Linda Bukhosini, idiophone/vocals -
New York, New York
Jerry Mofokeng, idiophone/vocals -
New York, New York
Tsepo Mokone, idiophone/vocals -
New York, New York
Thandi Pase, idiophone/vocals -
New York, New York
Sizakele Mtimkulu Seheri, idiophone/
vocals - New York, New York
Silindile Sokutu, idiophone/vocals -
New York, New York
Mbongiseni "Champ" Tshabalala, idio-
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
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Wednesday, June 27

Schedules are subject to change. Check signs in each program area for specific information. Sign language interpreters will be available for selected programs. Check the schedule and signs at each stage. Programs that will be interpreted are marked with the symbol 



Musics of Struggle

Narrative Stage	Music Stage
	 Opening Ceremony
11:00	
12:00	 Freedom Singers: Music of the U.S. Civil Rights Movement
1:00	Comparative Percussion Styles Frank Hart: Irish Music
2:00	How Songs of Struggle Are Composed South African Double Quartet Music
3:00	Comparative Vocal Styles Temo: Kurdish Music
4:00	Music as Motivatior Feria Educativa: Quechua Music
5:00	Deaf Protest Humor South American Aerophones Austin Lira & Almar: Chicano Music
	Group Affirmation in Songs of Struggle Hazel Dickens & Friends

Senegal

Music and Dance Area	Home Compound	Demonstrations
Felele Ganni: Toucouleur Yella Music & Dance	Senegalese Muslim Holiday Cooking Traditions	Marketplace demonstrations: woodcarving, basketmaking, incense making, tailoring, embroidery, glass painting, hair braiding, wig making
Yandé Godon Ensemble: Serer Music & Dance	 Dress & Adornment for Festive Occasions	Crafts area demonstrations: resist-dyeing, weaving, leatherworking, jewelry making, flax braiding, traditional construction, Bassari crafts
Kemou Diabate Ensemble: Manding kora Music	Hand Decoration with Henna	
Bassari Music & Dance	Children's Games & Toys	
Bobbo Baldé Peul: Music & Dance	Music with Gounds	Kora Making at the Pitch
Bourama Mané: Bija-Balante Music	 Celebrating Tabaski	
Toucouleur & Wolof Holdu & Halam Music	Traditions of Hospitality & Feasting for the Feast of the Sheep	
Bakary Diedhiou & Babsalana of Thionck-Essyl: Diola Music & Dance	Children's Holiday Games & Stories	Mandjak Weaving in the Crafts Area
Aldou N'Diaye & Omar Thiann: Wolof Music & Dance		

U.S. Virgin Islands

Big Yard	Learning Center Workshops	Marketplace	Dance Hall
Storytelling	Cariso	Weed Women	Lord Blakie with Mito & the Kings: Calypso
Children's Songs & Games	 Pan-Festival Workshop: Working on Water	Masquerading	Plenarios de Santa Cruz: Plena
Storytelling	Crafts: Access to Resources	Cariso	King Derby Ashanti with Mito & the Kings: Calypso
Cariso	Island Communities	Muko Jumbie Workshop	The 10 Sleepless Knights & St. Croix Heritage Dancers: Scratch Band
Storytelling	Games	Jibaros de Santa Cruz	Blinky & the Roadmasters: Scratch Band
Cariso	 Herbal Medicine & Healing	Steel Pan Tuning Workshop	The 10 Sleepless Knights: Scratch Band
Rosary of the Cross: Day One		Calypso	

Ongoing Demonstrations: Costume making, mask making, toy making, basket making, broom making, needlework, stilt dancing, instrument making, *franco* making, foodways, herbal healing, games, charcoal making, furniture making, house building, fishing

The public is invited to the "Musics of Struggle" song collection tent where songs will be recorded and archived for possible use in a publication. Hours of operation are 11:00 a.m. to 5:30 p.m.

7:00

Musics of Struggle

Narrative Stage	Music Stage
How Songs of Struggle Are Composed	Hazel Dickens & Friends: U.S. Coal Miners' Music
Music as Motivat	Agustin Lara & Almar: Chicano Music
Comparative String Styles	South African Double Quartet Music
Pan-Festival Workshop: Women's Issues in Music	Tenyo: Kurdish Music
Censorship	Feria Educativa: Quechua Music
Comparative Vocal Styles	Frank Harre: Irish Music
South American Aerophones	Freedom Singers: Music of the U.S. Civil Rights Movement
Music in the "Dead President" Movement	Sarah Alexander: Israeli Music
Music as an Organizational Tool	Sabreen: Palestinian Music
Comparative Percussion Styles	All Star Scratch Band (10 Sleepless Knights, St. Croix Heritage Dancers)

Senegal


Music and Dance Area	Home Compound	Demonstrations
Senegalese Stringed Instruments	Wolof Cooking	Marketplace demonstrations: basketweaving, basketmaking, incense making, tailoring, embroidery, glass painting, hair braiding, wig making
Bakary Diallou & Bakalana of Thiouck-Essyl: Diola		Resist-dyeing in the Crafts Area
Music & Dance		Traditions of Personal Adornment
Yande Gidou Ensemble: Serer		
Music & Dance	Tea Ritual	Musical Instrument Making at the Pinch
Bourama Mame: Bija-Balante Music		
Bassari Music & Dance	Diola Foodways: Cooking with Palm Oil	Crafts area demonstrations: resist-dyeing, weaving, leatherworking, jewelry making, blacksmithing, traditional building construction, bassari crafts
Boho Baldé Ensemble: Peul		
Music & Dance		
Kemna Diabaté Ensemble: Mauding kora Music	Musical Instrument Making: kora	Rhythms of Mortar & Pestle
Omar Thiam: Mauding Music & Dance		
Frede Gannor: Toucouleur Yela Music & Dance		

U.S. Virgin Islands

Big Yard	Learning Center Workshops	Marketplace	Dance Hall
Foodways	Musical Traditions & Tourism	Spirituals	The 10 Sleepless Knights: Scratch Band
Cariso	Herbal Medicine & Healing	Market Gardening	King Derby & Lord Blake: Extempo Calypso
Storytelling	Vernacular Architecture	Masquerading	All Star Scratch Band
Big Yard Narrative	Croizatization: Foodways	Market Vendors	Plenarios de Santa Cruz: Plena
Storytelling	Local Legends	Cariso	Milo & the Kings: Calypso
			The 10 Sleepless Knights & St. Croix Heritage Dancers: Scratch Band
Children's Songs & Games	Masquerading	Broom Making Workshop	Milo & the Kings: Brass Band
Rosary of the Day of the Cross: Day Two		Steel Pan Tuning Workshop	

Ongoing Demonstrations: Costume making, mask making, toy making, basket making, broom making, needlework, stilt dancing, instrument making, *franco* making, foodways, herbal healing, games, charcoal making, furniture making, house building, fishing.

Friday, June 29

Schedules are subject to change. Check signs in each program area for specific information. Sign language interpreters will be available for selected programs. Check the schedule and signs at each stage. Programs that will be interpreted are marked with the symbol 

Musics of Struggle

Narrative Stage	Music Stage
Comparative Vocal Styles	Hazel Dickens & Friends' U.S. Coal Miners' Music
South American Acrobatics	Freedom Singers' Music of the U.S. Civil Rights Movement
Music in the "Dead President Now" Movement	
Comparative Percussion Styles	
Music as an Educational Tool	Frank Hartle Irish Music
Censorship	Sarah Alexander-Israeli Music
Comparative String Styles	
Group Affirmation in Songs of Struggle	Feria Educativa: Quichua Music
Individual Expression in Songs of Struggle	Agustin Lira & Alma Chicano Music
Musicians' Struggles	
Dead Protest Humor	
Music as an Organizational Tool	South African Double Quartet Music
Music in the "Dead President Now" Movement	Temu, Kurdish Music

Sabreen, Palestinian Music

7:00

Senegal


Music and Dance Area	Home Compound	Demonstrations
Yande Codou Ensemble' Serer Music & Dance	Toucouleur & Peul Cooking	Marketplace demonstrations: woodcarving, basketmaking, incense making, tailoring, embroidery, glass painting, hair braiding, wig making
Gré Yene Bar: Toucouleur Houttu Music		
Bobo Baldé Ensemble: Peul Music & Dance	Cowrie Divination Workshop	Doll Making & Basketry at the Bassari Crafts Area
Bakary Diedhiou & Bakalama of Thionck-Essyl: Diola Initiation Songs & Dance	Pan-Festical Workshop: Raising Children	
Boorama Mané: Biya-Balante Music		
Kemo Dibauié Ensemble: Manding kora Music	Cooking with Groundnuts	
Abdou N'Diaye & Omar Thiame: Wolf Music & Dance		Wolf Storytelling at the Punch
Anadou N'Diaye Samb: Wolf Halam Music	Lullabies	Crafts area demonstrations: resist-dyeing, weaving, leatherworking, jewelry making, blacksmithing, traditional building construction, Bassari crafts
Fedeé Ganni: Toucouleur Yela Music & Dance	Coming of Age: Songs & Traditions	

U.S. Virgin Islands

Big Yard	Learning Center Workshops	Marketplace	Dance Hall
Foodways	Hurricane Stories	Pandetera Workshop	Cariso
Storytelling		Basketry	Jbarre de Santa Cruz
Cariso	Games	Extempo Calypso	Milo & the Kings with Calypsonian Islander: Calypso
Children's Songs & Games	Croclization: Quadrille	Fish Vending	Blindy & the Roadmasters: Scratch Band
Storytelling	Island Communities	Steel Pan Tuning Workshop	Plenarios de Santa Cruz: Pleria
Big Yard Narrative		Masquerading	King Derby & Lord Blakie with Blindy & the Roadmasters: Calypso
Storytelling	Jazz & Latino Influences on Virgin Islands Music	Growing Herbs for Market	The 10 Sleepless Knights & St. Croix Heritage Dancers: Scratch Band
Rosary of the Day of the Cross: Day Three		Cariso	

Ongoing Demonstrations: Costume making, mask making, toy making, basket making, broom making, needlework, still dancing, instrument making, fraico making, foodways, herbal healing, games, charcoal making, lumure making, house building, fishing.




The public is invited to the "Musics of Struggle" song collection tent where songs will be recorded and archived for possible use in a publication. Hours of operation are 11:00 a.m. to 5:30 p.m.

Schedules are subject to change. Check signs in each program area for specific information. Sign language interpreters will be available for selected programs. Check the schedule and signs at each stage. Programs that will be interpreted are marked with the symbol 

Musics of Struggle

Narrative Stage	Music Stage
11:00	Tenno: Kurdish Music
	Cooperative Vocal Styles
12:00	Hazel Dickens & Friends: Miners' Music
	Musicians' Struggles
1:00	Fora Education: Quechua Music
	Comparative String Styles
2:00	Frank Hart: Irish Music
	Naming In-Group Language/Humor
3:00	Freedom Singers: Music of the U.S. Civil Rights Movement
	Music in the "Deaf" President Now" Movement
4:00	South African Double Quartet Music
	How Songs of Struggle Are Composed
5:00	Sarah Alexander: Israeli Music
	Comparative Percussion Styles
7:00	Sabreen: Palestinian Music
	Group Affirmation in Songs of Struggle
	Agustin Lira & Alma: Chicano Music
	Music in the "Deaf" President Now" Movement
Dolla Dance Rhythms	


Senegal

Music and Dance Area	Home Compound	Demonstrations
Bakari Diedhiou & Bakatiana of Thionck-Essyl: Dolla	 The Griots' Art Praise Singing Workshop	Marketplace demonstrations: woodcarving, basketmaking, incense making, tailoring, embroidery, glass painting, hair braiding, wig making
Music & Dance		
Fele Ganni: Toncouleur Yela Music & Dance	Serer Cooking	Wolof Halam Music at the Pinch
Gré Yene Ba: Toncouleur Hoddu Music		
Bourama Mane Bija-Balante Music	 Arts of Adornment Workshop	Blacksmithing & Jewelry Working in the Crafts Area
Kemou Diabadi Ensemble: Manding Kora Music		
Bobo Baladi Ensemble Poul	Gowrie Dedantion	Crafts Area
Music & Dance		
Abdou N'Diaye: Wolof Music & Dance	 Preparation for Lambie Wrestling	Crafts area demonstrations: russia-dyeing, weaving, leatherworking, jewelry making, blacksmithing, traditional building construction, Bassari crafts

U.S. Virgin Islands

Big Yard	Learning Center Workshops	Marketplace	Dance Hall
Foodways	Creolization: Musical Instruments	Weed Women	Extempo Calypso
Storytelling	Charcoal Making Access to Resources	Cariso	Blinky & the Roadmasters Scratch Band
Cariso	Mask Making	Moko Jumbie Workshop	Plenarios de Santa Cruz: Plena
Storytelling	Migration & Culture	Calypso	All Star Scratch Band
Big Yard Narrative	Basketry: Access to Resources	Jibarns de Santa Cruz	Milo & the Kings: Brass Band
Children's Songs & Games	Local Legends	Market Gardening	The 10 Sleepless Knights & St. Croix Heritage Dancers: Scratch Band
Storytelling	Cariso	Steel Pan Tuning Workshop	Lord Blaise with Milo & the Kings: Calypso
Rosary of the Day of the Cross: Day Four			
Day Tour			

Ongoing Demonstrations: Costume making, mask making, toy making, basket making, broom making, needlework, stilt dancing, instrument making, *franco* making, foodways, herbal healing, games, charcoal making, furniture making, house building, fishing

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Musics of Struggle

Narrative Stage	Music Stage
11:00	Comparative Vocal Styles
12:00	Tempo: Kurdish Music
1:00	Music in the "Deaf President Now" Movement
1:00	Sarah Alexander Israeli Music
2:00	Freedom Singers: Music of the U.S. Civil Rights Movement
2:00	South African Double Quartet Music
3:00	Musicians' Struggles
3:00	Group
3:00	Affirmation in Songs of Struggle
4:00	Frank Hartie: Irish Music
4:00	Blazed Dickens & Friends: U.S. Coal Miners' Music
5:00	Saharun: Palestinian Music
5:00	Perla Educativa
5:00	Quichua Music
5:00	Agustín Lira & Alina: Chicano Music
5:00	Pleneros de Santa Cruz: Plena

Senegal

Music and Dance Area	Home Compound	Demonstrations
Caré Yene Ba: Toucouleur Hoddu Music	Wolof Cooking	Marketplace demonstrations: wood carving, basketmaking, incense making, tailoring, embroidery, glass painting, hair braiding, wig making
Bakary Diedhiou & Bakalama of Thionck-Essyl: Diola Music & Dance	Growing Up In Senegal: Games, Toys, Proverbs, Stories	Leatherworking in the Crafts area
Fedde Ganni: Toucouleur Vela Music & Dance	Manding Music	Crafts area demonstrations: resist-dyeing, weaving, leatherworking, jewelry making, blacksmithing, traditional building construction, Bassari crafts
Yandé Godou Ensemble: Serer Music & Dance	Work Songs	Bassari Music & Dance at the Futch
Manding Music & Dance	Arts of Ritual Adornment	Crafts area demonstrations: resist-dyeing, weaving, leatherworking, blacksmithing, traditional building construction, Bassari crafts
Bobo Balde Ensemble: Peul Music & Dance	Traditional Health Practices & Home Remedies	
Amadou N'Diaye Samb: Wolof Halam Music	Henna Hand & Foot Decoration Workshop	
Bourrama Maïe: Baja-Bahante Music		
Aldou N'Diaye & Omar Thiame: Wolof Music & Dance		

U.S. Virgin Islands

Big Yard	Learning Center Workshops	Marketplace	Dance Hall
Herbal Healing		Spirituals	The 10 Sleepless Knights: Scratch Band
Storytelling	Extempo Calypso	Broom Making	Pleneros de Santa Cruz: Plena
Cariso	Games	Weed Women	Bliobh & the Roadmasters: Scratch Band
Pan-Festival Workshop: Shared Family Traditions: Storytelling, Games, Hospitality	Vernacular Architecture	Steel Pan Tuning Workshop	Milo & the Kings: Calypso
	Legends of Work	J'haros de Santa Cruz	The 10 Sleepless Knights & St. Croix Heritage Dancers: Brass Band
	Crafts: Access to Resources	Moko Jumbie Workshop	Milo & the Kings: Scratch Band
Storytelling	Musical Traditions & Migration	Calypso	All Star Scratch Band
Cariso		Calypso	
Rosary of the Day of the Cross: Day Five		Masquerading	

Ongoing Demonstrations: Costume making, mask making, toy making, basket making, broom making, needlework, stilt dancing, instrument making, *franco* making, foodways, herbal healing, games, charcoal making, furniture making, house building, fishing.

The public is invited to the "Musics of Struggle" song collection tent where songs will be recorded and for possible use in a publication. Hours of operation are 11:00 a.m. to 5:30 p.m.

Wednesday, July 4

Musics of Struggle

Narrative Stage	Music Stage
Comparative Vocal Styles	Frank Hurte: Irish Music
	Sarah Alexander: Israeli Music
Music as Motivator	
Music in the "Dead President Now" Movement	Tropo: Kurdish Music
	Sabreen: Palestinian Music
Pan-Festival Workshop: Topical Songs	
South American Aerophones	South African Doodie Quartet Music
	Fera Educativa: Quechua Music
Music as Motivator	
Music as an Educational Tool	Freedom Singers: Music of the U.S. Civil Rights Movement
	Agustin Lira & Alma: Chicano Music
Deaf Protest Humor	
Group Affirmation in Songs of Struggle	
Comparative Percussion Solos	Hazel Dickens & Friends: U.S. Coal Miners' Music

11:00

12:00

1:00

2:00

3:00

4:00

5:00

Senegal


Music and Dance Area	Home Compound	Demonstrations
Felele Ganni-Toucouleur Yella Music & Dance	Diola Cooking	Marketplace demonstrations: woodcarving, basketmaking, incense making, tailoring, confroirery, glass painting, hair braiding, wig making
Yandé Codou Ensemble: Serer Music & Dance		
Kerno Diabalié Ensemble: Manding kora Music	Har Braiding	Manding Storytelling at the Pouch
Bassari Music & Dance	Female Griot Traditions	
Bobo Baldé Ensemble: Peul Music & Dance		
Bourrama Mane: Bijja Balante Music	Bassari Foodways	Glass Painting in the Marketplace
Toucouleur & Wolof Haddu & Haam Music		
Bakary Diédhiou & Bakdama of Thiouck-Essil: Diola Music & Dance	Saying "Hello" Traditional Greetings	Crafts area demonstrations: resist-dyeing, weaving, leatherworking, ironworking, woodcarving, blacksmithing, traditional building construction, Bassari crafts
Abdou N'Diaye & Omar Thiam: Wolof Music & Dance		
	Games	


U.S. Virgin Islands

Big Yard	Learning Center Workshops	Marketplace	Dance Hall
Foodways		Carso	The 10 Sleepless Nights: Scratch Band
Storytelling	Crafts: Access to Resources	Weed Women	Blinky & the Roadmasters: Scratch Band
Children's Songs & Games	Storytelling	Jbaros de Santa Cruz	Milo & the Kings Brass Band
Storytelling	Fishing Traditions & Tourism	Moko Jumbie Workshop	The 10 Sleepless Nights & St. Croix Heritage Dancers: Scratch Band
Big Yard Narrative	Island Communities	Calypso	Plebeos de Santa Cruz: Plena
Storytelling	Carso	Steel Pan Tuning Workshop	Blinky & the Roadmasters: Scratch Band
Carso	Masquerading	Market Gardening	Milo & the Kings: Calypso
Rosary of the Day of the Cross: Day Six		Masquerading	



Ongoing Demonstrations: Costume making, mask making, toy making, basket making, broom making, needlework, stilt dancing, instrument making, *franco* making, foodways, herbal healing, games, charcoal making, furniture making, house building, fishing

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
Musics of Struggle

11:00	Narrative Stage	Music Stage
	Comparative String Styles	Hazel Dickens & Friends: U.S. Coal Miners' Music
12:00	How Songs of Struggle are Composed	Sabreen: Palestinian Music
	Comparative String Styles	Sarah Alexander: Israeli Music
1:00	Musicians' Struggles	Temo: Kurdish Music
	Group Affirmation in Songs of Struggle	South African Double Quartet Music
2:00	South American Aerophones	Freedom Singers: Music of the U.S. Civil Rights Movement
	Music in the "Deaf President Now" Movement	Frank Harrie: Irish Music
3:00	Comparative String Styles	Feria Educativa: Quechua Music
	Censorship 	Agustín Lira & Alma: Chicano Music
4:00	Group Affirmation in Songs of Struggle	Deaf Protest Humor 
5:00		Image: Calypso

Senegal

Music and Dance Area	Home Compound	Demonstrations
Senegalese Stringed Instruments	 Toucouleur Cooking	Marketplace demonstrations: wood carving, basketmaking, incense making, tailoring, embroidery, glass painting, hair braiding, wig making
Bakary Diédhiou & Bakalama of Thionck-Essyl: Diola	Musical Instrument Making	Basketmaking in the Marketplace
Music & Dance Ensemble: Serer	Wolof Drums	
Bourama Mané: Bijá-Balante Music	Singing History: Manding & Toucouleur Epics	
Bassari Music & Dance	Serer Cooking	Manding Music at the Pitch
Baba Baldé Ensemble: Peul		
Music & Dance: Cure Yene Ba: Toucouleur		
Hoddu Music		
Yande Codou Ensemble: Serer	Arts of Personal Adornment	Crafts area demonstrations: resist-dyeing, weaving, leathersworking, jewelry making, blacksmithing, traditional building construction, Bassari crafts
Music & Dance		
Feèle Ganri: Toucouleur Yela Music & Dance	Tea Ritual	

U.S. Virgin Islands

Big Yard	Learning Center Workshops	Marketplace	Dance Hall
Foodways	Masquerading	 Market Gardening	The 10 Sleepless Knights & St. Croix Heritage Dancers: Scratch Band
Storytelling		Spirituals	Milo & the Kings: Brass Band
Pan-Festival Workshop: Herbal Healing	Calypso	Jbaros de Santa Cruz	Blinky & the Roadmasters: Scratch Band
Cariso	Vernacular Architecture 	Broom Making	The 10 Sleepless Knights: Scratch Band
Storytelling 	Crotilization: Foodways	Masquerading	All Star Scratch Band
Children's Songs & Games	Local Legends	Market Vendors	Milo & the Kings: Calypso
Storytelling	Charcoal Making: Access to Resources 	Steel Pan Tuning Workshop	Plenarios de Santa Cruz: Plena
Rosary of the Day of the Cross: Day Seven		Cariso	

Ongoing Demonstrations: Costume making, mask making, toy making, basket making, broom making, needlework, stilt dancing, instrument making, *franco* making, foodways, herbal healing, games, charcoal making, furniture making, house building, fishing.

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Friday, July 6

Musics of Struggle

Narrative Stage	Music Stage
Music as an Organizational Tool	South African Double-Quartet Music
How Songs of Struggle Are Composed	Fela Edukator: Quichua Music
Group Affirmation in Songs of Struggle	Harold Dickens & Friends: U.S. Civil Miners' Music
South American Aeroplanes	Tenzo: Kurdish Music
Censorship	Sarah Alexander: Israeli Music
Musicians' Struggles	Freedom Singers: Music of the U.S. Civil Rights Movement
Comparative Percussion Styles	Frank Harte: Irish Music
Music in the "Deaf President Now" Movement	Agustín Lira & Alma: Chicano Music
Deaf Protest Humor	Sabreen: Palestinian Music
Music as an Organizational Tool	Serer and Manding Music & Dance

Senegal

Music and Dance Area	Home Compound	Demonstrations
Yandé Godou Ensemble: Serer Music & Dance	Cooking with Groundnuts	Marketplace demonstrations: woodcarving, basketmaking, incense making, tailoring, embroidery, glass painting, hair trading, wig making
Gré Yone Ba: Toucouleur Haddu Music	Rhythms of Moura & Pessle	Woodcarving in the Marketplace
Bobo Baldé Ensemble: Peul Music & Dance	Pan-Festival Workshop: Basketmaking Traditions	
Hilary Twelthou & Bakalama of Thionck-Essyl: Diola Initiation Songs & Dance		
Bourama Mané: Bijia-Balante Music	Work Songs	Serer Storytelling at the Punch
Keno Diabaté Ensemble: Manding Kora Music		Crafts area demonstrations: reas-dyeing, weaving, leatherworking, jewelry making, blacksmithing, pottery making, building construction, Bassari crafts
Abdou N'Diaye & Omar Thiain: Wolf Music & Dance	Cooking for the Market	
Amadou N'Diaye Samb: Wolf Halam Music		
Fedeé Gamm: Toucouleur Yela Music & Dance		


U.S. Virgin Islands

Big Yard	Learning Center Workshops	Marketplace	Dance Hall
Foodways		Paukeria Workshop	Ashanti & Lord Blaise with Milo & the Kings: Calypso
Storytelling	Charcoal Making: Access to Resources	Weed Women	The 10 Sleepless knights: Scratch Band
Cariso	Games	Steel Pan Tuning Workshop	Blinky & the Roadmasters: Scratch Band
Storytelling	Civilization Quadrille	Extempo Calypso	Plenarios de Santa Cruz: Plena
Big Yard Narrative	Island Communities	Cariso	Milo & the Kings: Brass Band
Storytelling	The Art of Throwing Words	Carnival Masquerading	Blinky & the Roadmasters: Scratch Band
Children's Songs & Games	Fishing Traditions & Tourism	Moko Jumbie Workshop	The 10 Sleepless Knights & St. Croix Heritage Dancers: Scratch Band
Rosary of the Day of the Cross: Day Eight		Jbaros de Santa Cruz	


Ongoing Demonstrations: Costume making, mask making, toy making, basket making, broom making, needlework, stilt dancing, instrument making, *franco* making, foodways, herbal healing, games, charcoal making, furniture making, house building, fishing.

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7:00

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Saturday, July 7


Schedules are subject to change. Check signs in each program area for specific information. Sign language interpreters will be available for selected programs. Check the schedule and signs at each stage. Programs that will be interpreted are marked with the symbol 

Musics of Struggle

11:00	Narrative Stage	Music Stage
	Music as Motivator 	Freedom Singers: Music of the U.S. Civil Rights Movement
12:00	Music in the "Dead" President Now" Movement 	South African Double Quartet Music
	Deaf Protest Humor 	Hazel Dickens & Friends: U.S. Coal Miners' Music
1:00	Comparative Percussion Styles	Sabreen: Palestinian Music
2:00	How Songs of Struggle Were Composed	Ferra: Quechua Music
3:00	Music as an Educational Tool	Agustin Lira & Alina: Chicano Music
	Musicians' Struggles	Sarah Alexander: Israeli Music
4:00	Comparative Vocal Styles	Frank Hart: Irish Music
5:00	Group Affirmation in Songs of Struggle	Temo: Kurdish Music
	Music in the "Dead" President Now" Movement 	Milo & the Kings: Brass Band

7:00


Senegal

Music and Dance Area	Home Compound	Demonstrations
Bobo Baldé Ensemble: Peul Music & Dance	Cowrie Drumming	Marketplace demonstrations: woodcarving, basketmaking, incense making, tailoring, embroidery, glass painting, hair braiding, wig making
Felele Ganni: Toucouleur Yela Music & Dance	Manding Cooking	Bassari Music at the Pitch
Abdou N'Diaye & Omar Thiame: Wolof Music & Dance	Arts of Adornment	
Toucouleur & Wolof Haddu & Italian Music		
Bakary Diédhiou & Bakalania of Thiouck-Essil		
Diola Music & Dance	Growing Up with History in Senegal	Tailoring & Embroidery in the Marketplace
Kembo Diabaté Ensemble: Manding kora Music		Crafts area demonstrations: resist-dyeing, weaving, leatherworking, jewelry making, blacksmithing, traditional building construction, Bassari crafts
Bourama Mane: Music	Cooking with Millet	
Yandé Codou Ensemble: Serer Music & Dance		
Omair Thiame: Manding Music & Dance	Men's Ways/ Women's Ways	


Ongoing Demonstrations: Costume making, mask making, toy making, basket making, broom making, needlework, stilt dancing, instrument making, *fratco* making, foodways, herbal healing, games, charcoal making, furniture making, house building, fishing.

The public is invited to the "Musics of Struggle" song collection tent where songs will be recorded and archived for possible use in a publication. Hours of operation are 11:00 a.m. to 5:30 p.m.

U.S. Virgin Islands

Big Yard	Learning Center Workshops	Marketplace	Dance Hall
Foodways	 Crafts: Access to Materials	Instrument Making	Plenarios de Santa Cruz: Plena
Storytelling		Weed Women	Extempo Calypso
Ongoing Children's Songs & Games, Storytelling & Cariso	Ongoing Narrative Sessions & Games	Cariso	
Rosary of the Day of the Cross: Day Nine		Ongoing Presentations of Calypso, Cariso & Narrative Workshops	Carnival

Sunday, July 8

Schedules are subject to change. Check signs in each program area for specific information. Sign language interpreters will be available for selected programs. Check the schedule and signs at each stage. Programs that will be interpreted are marked with the symbol 

Musics of Struggle

Narrative Stage	Music Stage
Comparative String Styles	Frank Hartle: Irish Music
Musical as an Organizational Tool	Hazel Dickens & Friends: U.S. Coal Miners' Music
Individual Expression in Songs of Struggle	Tenor: Irish Music
How Songs of Struggle are Composed	Augusta Lira & Mira: Chicano Music
Musical in the "Dead President Now" Movement	South African Double Quartet Music
Deaf Protest Humor	Freedom Singers: Music of the U.S. Civil Rights Movement
Group Affirmation in Songs of Struggle	Sarah Alexander: Israeli Music
South American Acropones	Sabreen: Palestinian Music
Comparative String Styles	Feria Educativa: Quechua Music
Comparative Vocal Styles	
Group Affirmation in Songs of Struggle	Wolf Music & Dance

Senegal

Music and Dance Area	Home Compound	Demonstrations
Gré Yene Ba: Toucouleur Hudu Music	Naming Ceremonies	Marketplace demonstrations: woodcarving, basket making, metal making, embroidery, glass painting, hair braiding, wig making.
Bakary Jethiou & Bakalana of Thionck-Essyl: Diola Music & Dance	Cooking for Birth Celebrations: N'Gone	Blacksmithing & Jewelry Making in the Crafts Area
Frede Gami: Toucouleur Yela Music & Dance		
Yande Codou Ensemble: Serer Music & Dance		
Manding Music & Dance	Pan-Festival Workshop: Shared Family Traditions, Storytelling, Games, Hospitality	
Bobo Balde Ensemble: Peul Music & Dance		Bassari Music & Dance at the Patch
Amadou N'Diaye Samb		Crafts area demonstrations: resist-dyeing, weaving, leatherworking, jewelry making, blacksmithing, traditional building construction, Bassari crafts
Bourama Mare: Bia-Balante Music	Arts of Adornment	
Serer Music & Dance	Saying "Goodbye": Traditional Leavetaking	

U.S. Virgin Islands

Big Yard	Learning Center Workshops	Marketplace	Dance Hall
Herbal Healing		Spirituals	Blinky & the Roadmasters: Scratch Band
Storytelling	Calyso	Growing Herbs for Market	The 10 Sleepless Knights: Scratch Band
Carso	Crafts: Access to Resources	Steel Pan Tuning Workshop	Pleinos de Santa Cruz: Plea
Big Yard Narrative	Island Communities	Weed Women	Milo & the Kings: Calyso
Storytelling	Games	Moko Jumbie Workshop	The 10 Sleepless Knights & Quadrille: Scratch Band
Storytelling	Legends of Work	Jibaros de Santa Cruz	Milo & the Kings: Brass Band
Children's Songs & Games	Migration & Culture	Masquerading	All Star Scratch Band
		Calyso	

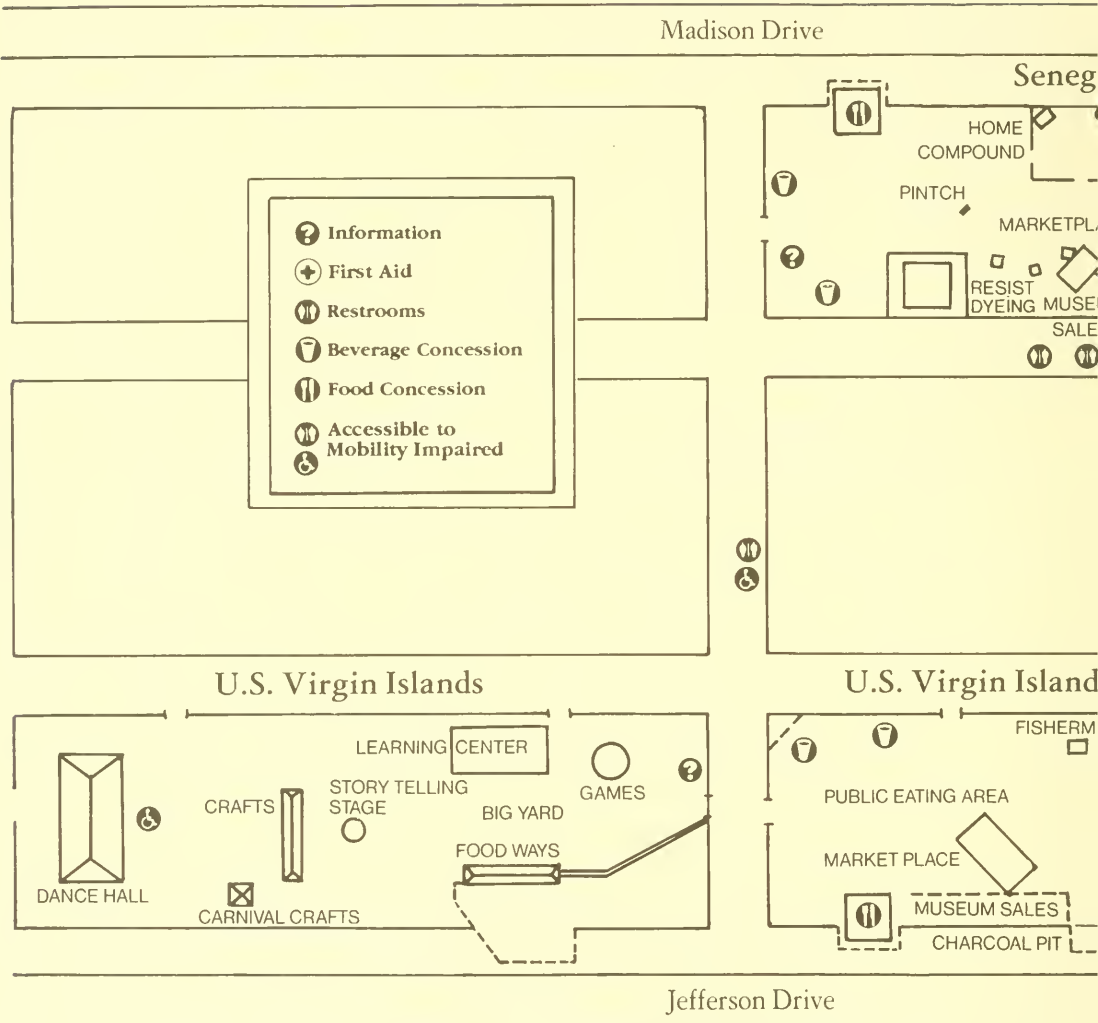
Ongoing Demonstrations: Costume making, mask making, toy making, basket making, broom making, needlework, suit dancing, instrument making, *franco* making, foodways, herbal healing, games, charcoal making, furniture making, house building, fishing.

The public is invited to the "Musics of Struggle" song collection tent where songs will be recorded and archived for possible use in a publication. Hours of operation are 11:00 a.m. to 5:30 p.m.

7:00

Festival Site Map

14th Street



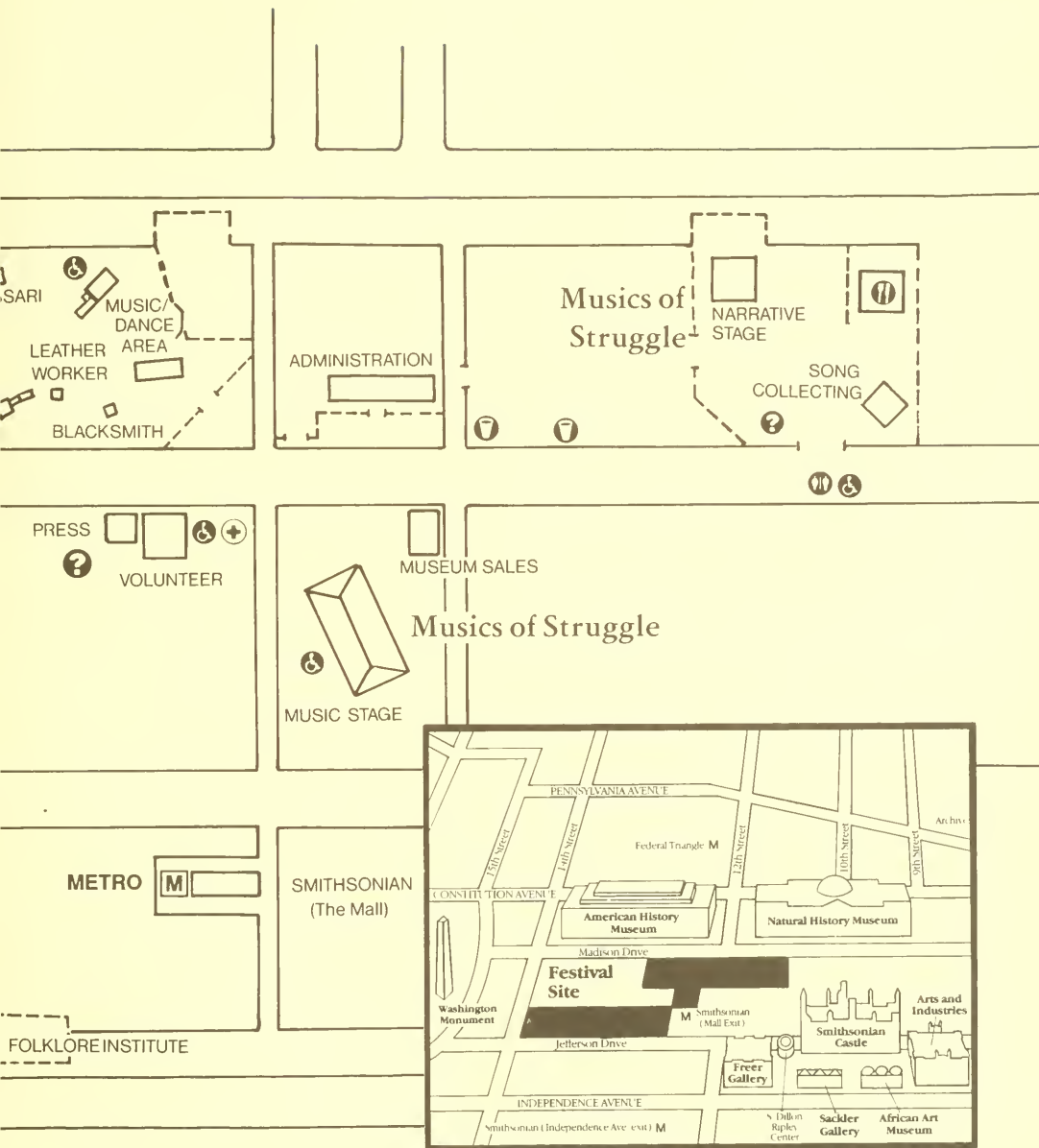
Madison Drive

Seneg

U.S. Virgin Islands

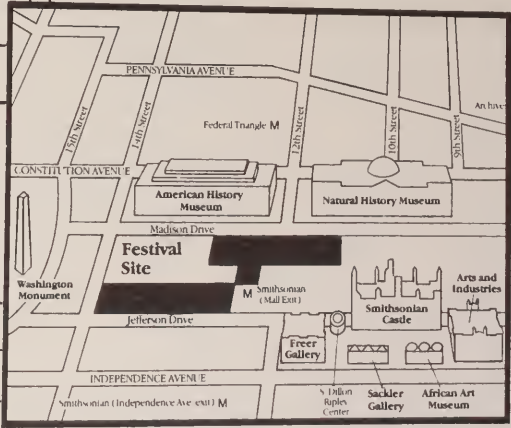
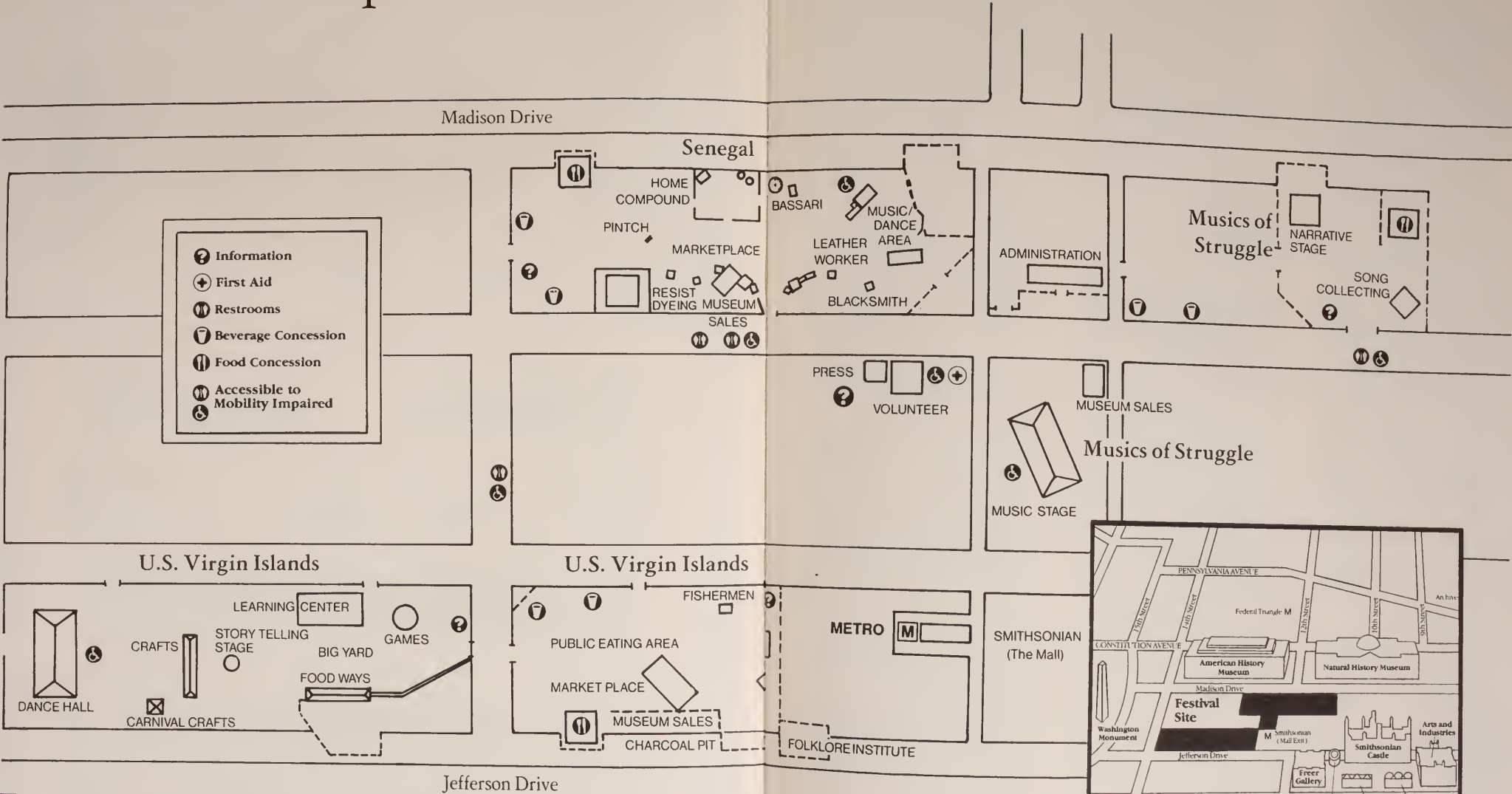
U.S. Virgin Island

Jefferson Drive



Festival Site Map

14th Street



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Important folklore research and presentation in the United States are often carried out by local researchers and community-based scholars, many without formal academic training. The Folklore Summer Institute for Community Scholars (July 2-16), now in its second year, is intended to recognize and encourage these local folklorists, to enhance their skills, and to establish contact with folklore scholars and professionals.

This program is made possible by support from the Smithsonian Educational Outreach Fund, the L. J. Skaggs and Mary C. Skaggs Foundation, the Ruth Mott Fund, the American Folklore Society, Indiana University, Rutgers University and the Polaroid Foundation.

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FOLKWAYS



SMITHSONIAN
FOLKWAYS

Folkways Records, founded by Moses Asch in 1947, was acquired by the Smithsonian Institution in 1987 to ensure that all the recordings remain available as a service to scholars, musicians and the general public. Distribution of the nearly 2,200 recordings is divided between mail order titles and those available in record stores. Many titles will be issued on CD; **all** titles are available on high quality audio cassettes, with their original documentation, through the Office of Folklife Programs. Recent reissues are listed below. For a complete catalogue of available titles, please write your address on the card below and mail it to us

SMITHSONIAN/FOLKWAYS RECORDINGS ISSUED FOR THIS YEAR'S FESTIVAL:

Don't Mourn - Organize! Songs of labor songwriter Joe Hill Historical and contemporary recordings of songs and poems by and about Joe Hill featuring: Billy Bragg, Hazel Dickens, Elizabeth Gurley Flynn, Joe Glazer, IWW Entertainment Workers IU 630, Si Kahn, Haywire Mac, Utah Phillips, Paul Robeson, Earl Robinson, Pete Seeger and others. (SF 40026, available on CD, LP and cassette)

Woody Guthrie - Struggle A reissue of Moses Asch's compilation of Woody Guthrie's songs originally issued for the United States Bicentennial in 1976. Woody Guthrie sings songs commemorating labor struggles and the hard times of working people everywhere. (SF 40025, available on CD, LP and cassette)

Various recordings relating to Senegal, the Caribbean and Musics of Struggle are also available for purchase.

THE FOLKWAYS VISION - THREE RELATED RECORD- INGS SOLD INDIVIDUALLY:

Folkways: A Vision Shared A Grammy Award winning benefit album containing songs written by Woody Guthrie and Huddie Ledbetter (Leadbelly) and interpreted by contemporary musicians. Issued by CBS Records.

A Vision Shared A videotape including footage of the majority of the musicians on the CBS album. Issued by Columbia Music Videos.

Folkways: The Original Vision (SF 40001) Contains the same songs as the CBS album, but in the original versions recorded in the 1940's by Woody Guthrie and Leadbelly. Three never before released cuts appear on this album.

OTHER REISSUES AND NEW RELEASES:

Recording issued for the 1988 Festival of American Folklife: * * Musics of the Soviet Union (SF 40002)

Recordings issued for the 1989 Festival of American Folklife:

- * Puerto Rican Music in Hawai'i: Kachi-Kachi (SF 40014)
- * Hula Drum Dance Chants: Music and Power in Time (SF 40015)
- * Musics of Hawai'i (SF 40016)

Other recordings:

- * The Country Gentlemen: Country songs, old and new (SF 40004)
- * Cajun Social Music: Nathan Abshire, Mark Savoy, Hector Duhon and others (SF 40006)
- * Phil Ochs "The Broadside Tapes 1" (SF 40008)
- * Elizabeth Cotten: Freight Train and other North Carolina folk songs and tunes (SF 40009)
- * Leadbelly Sings Folk Songs (SF 40010)
- * Brownie McGhee and Sonny Terry Sing (SF 40011)
- * Tuva: Voices from the Center of Asia (SF 40017)
- * Big Bill Broonzy Sings Folk Songs (SF 40023)
- * Pete Seeger "Traditional Christmas Carols" (SF 40024)
- * Been in the Storm So Long (SF 40031)
- * Sing for Freedom (SF 40032)
- * Pete Seeger "Abiyoyo" (SF 45001)
- * Ella Jenkins "You'll Sing a Song and I'll Sing a Song" (SF 45010)
- * Ella Jenkins "Adventures in Rhythm" (SF 45007) and many other Ella Jenkins recordings.

All the new Smithsonian/Folkways issues, in addition to many other Folkways titles are distributed in the Museum Shops sales areas at the Festival site. Many are also distributed through Rounder Records. If you are unable to find Folkways records at your local record store, write for a free catalogue and order forms to: Smithsonian/Folkways Recordings
Office of Folklife Programs
955 L'Enfant Plaza, Suite 2600
Washington, D.C., 20560

Please send me a catalogue of Folkways Records. I would like information on the following kinds of recordings:

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